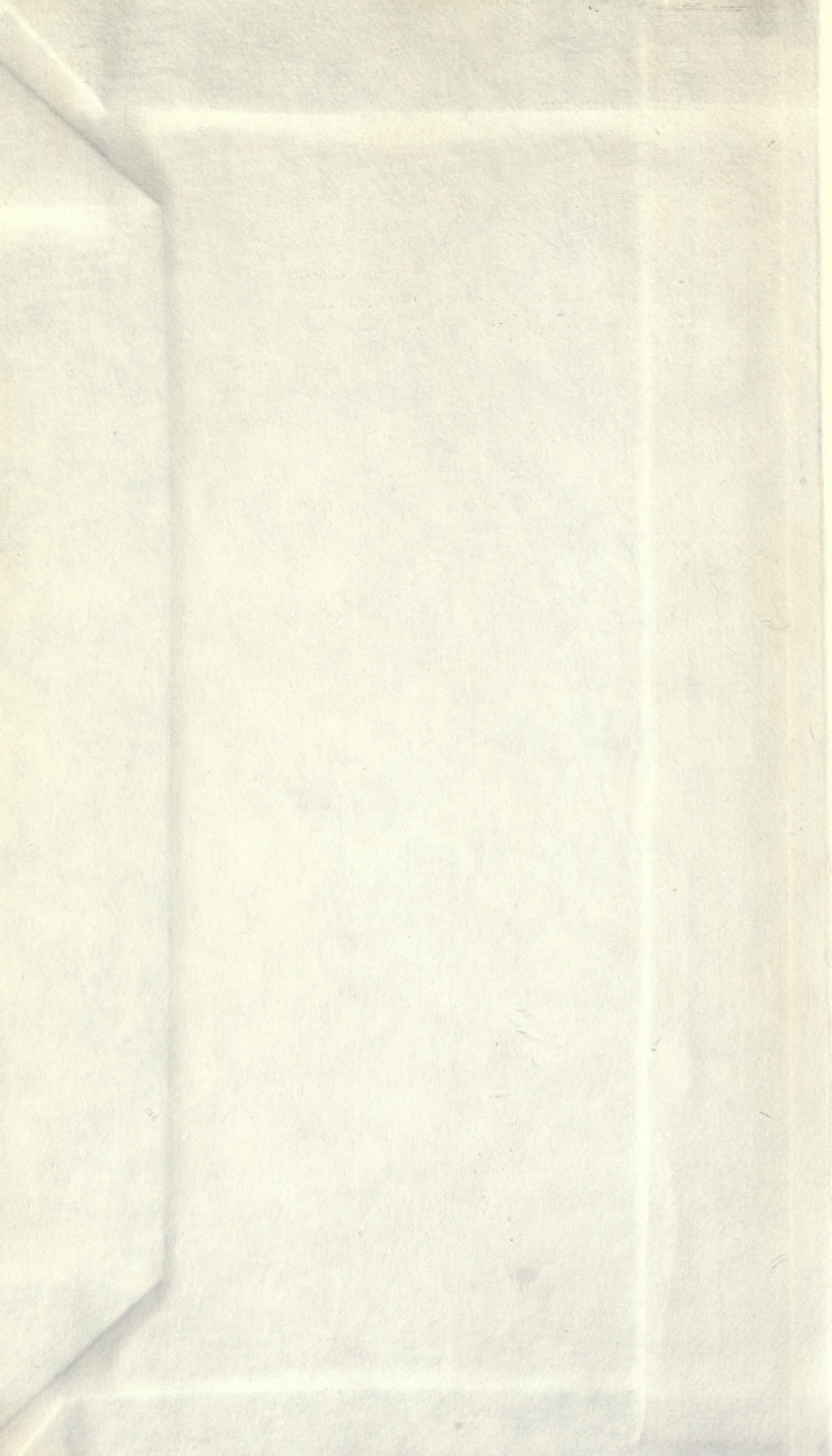
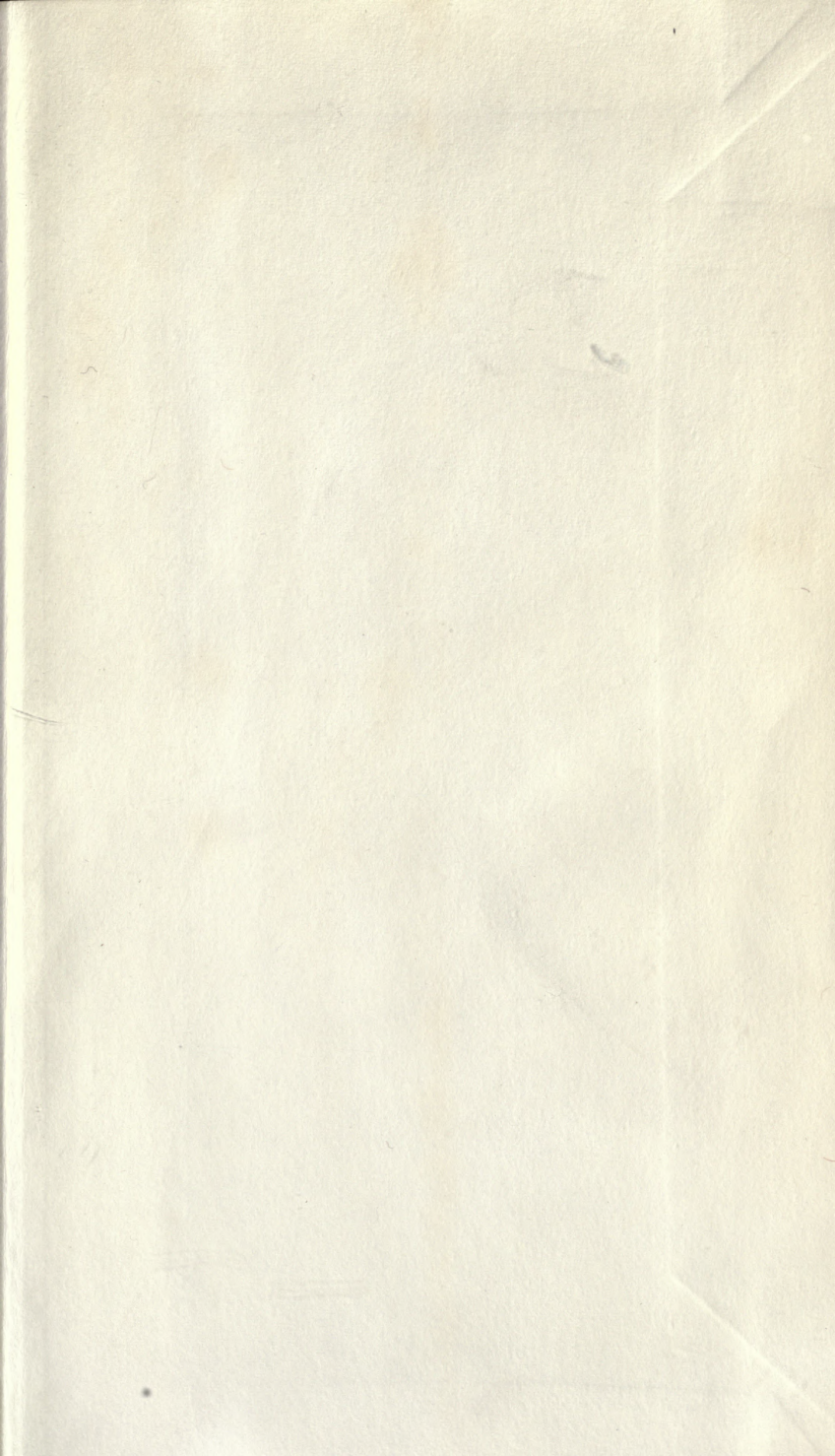
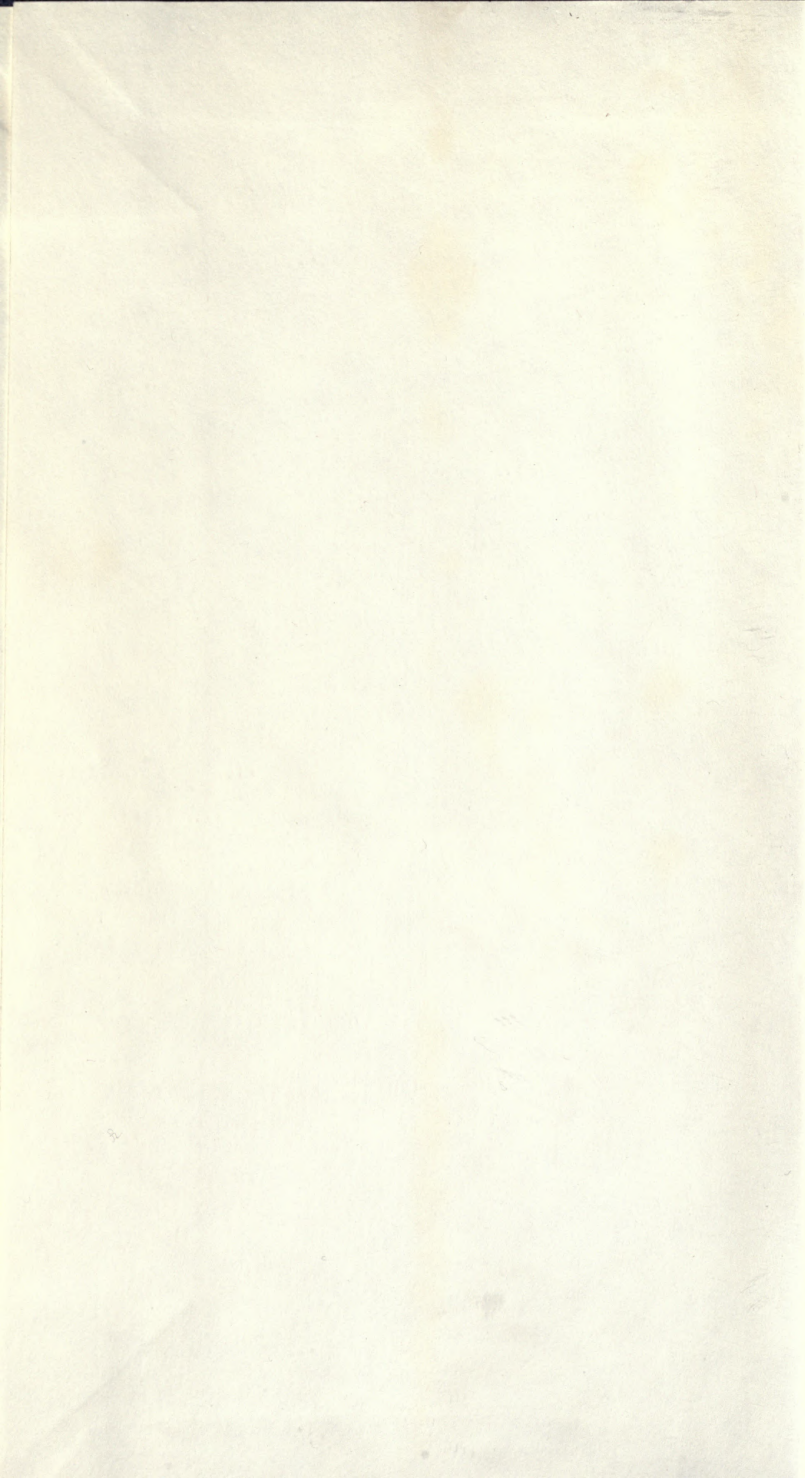
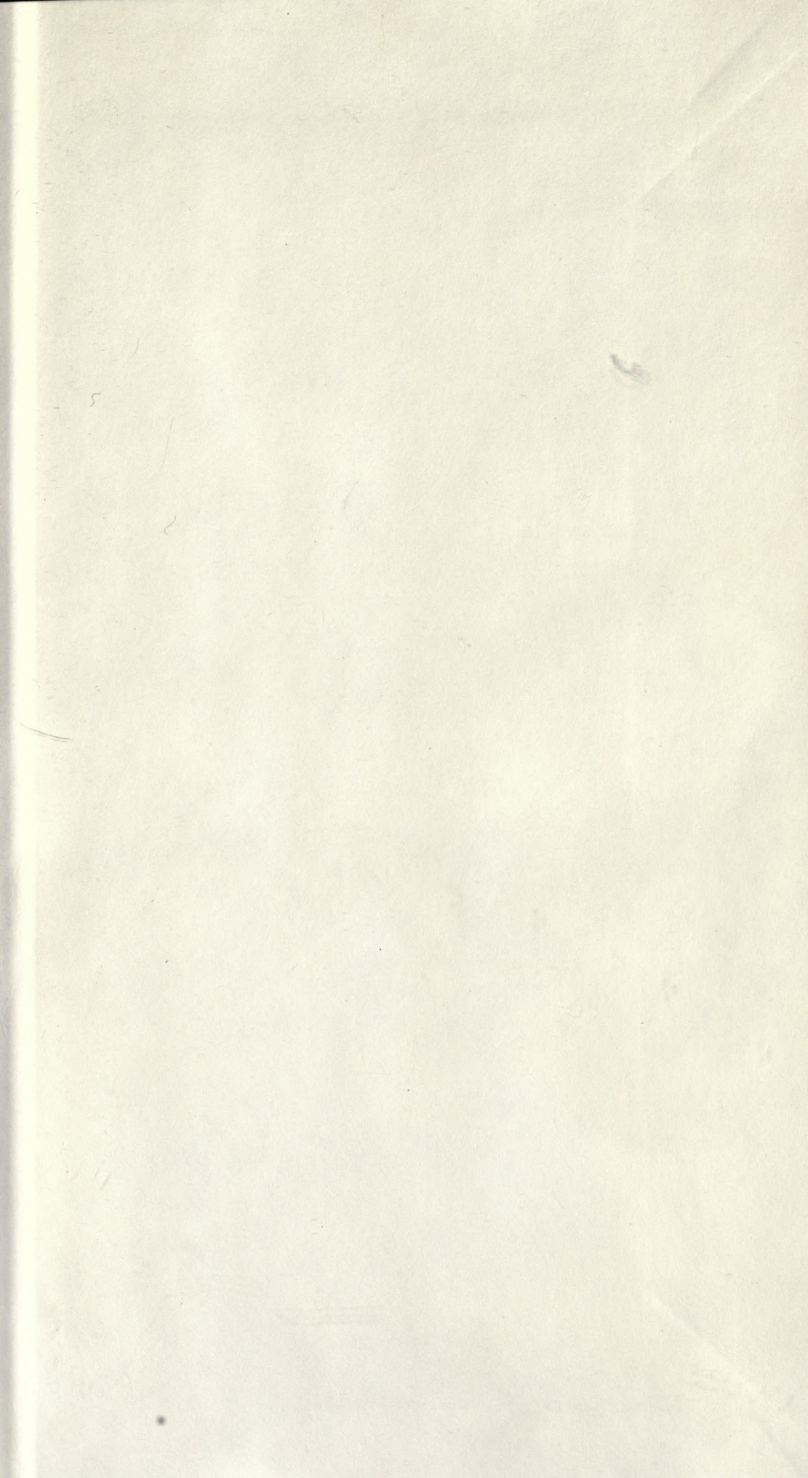


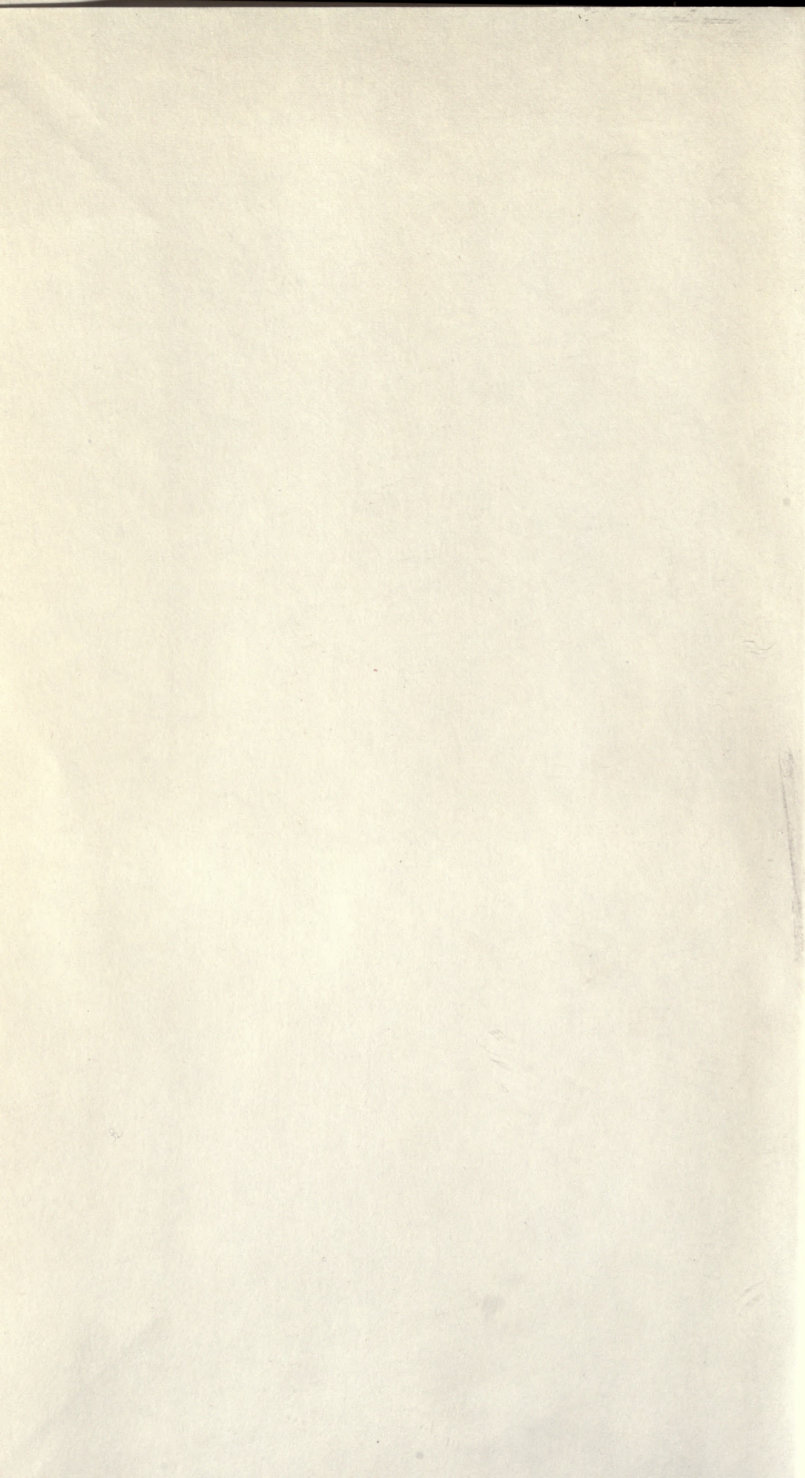
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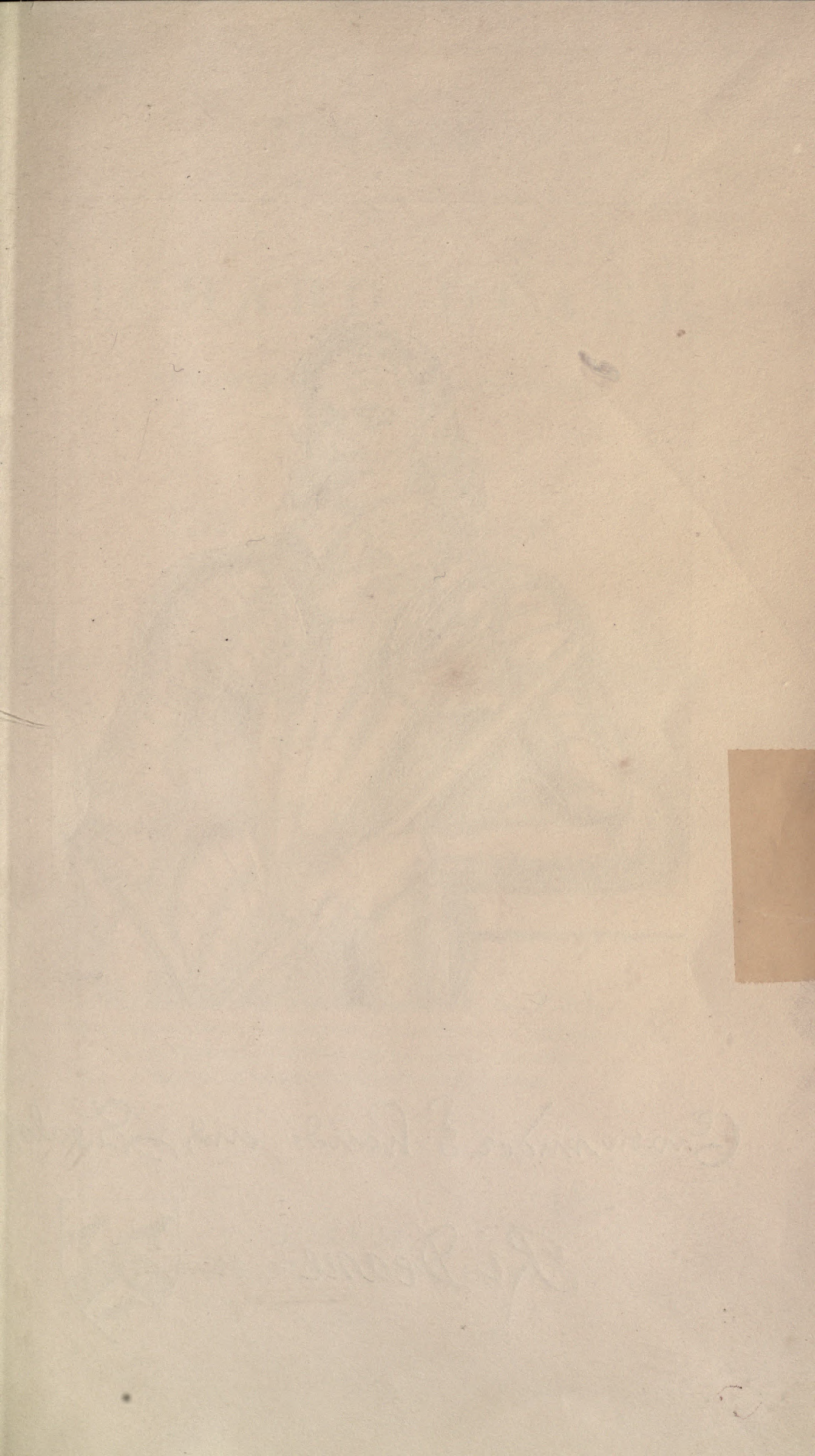


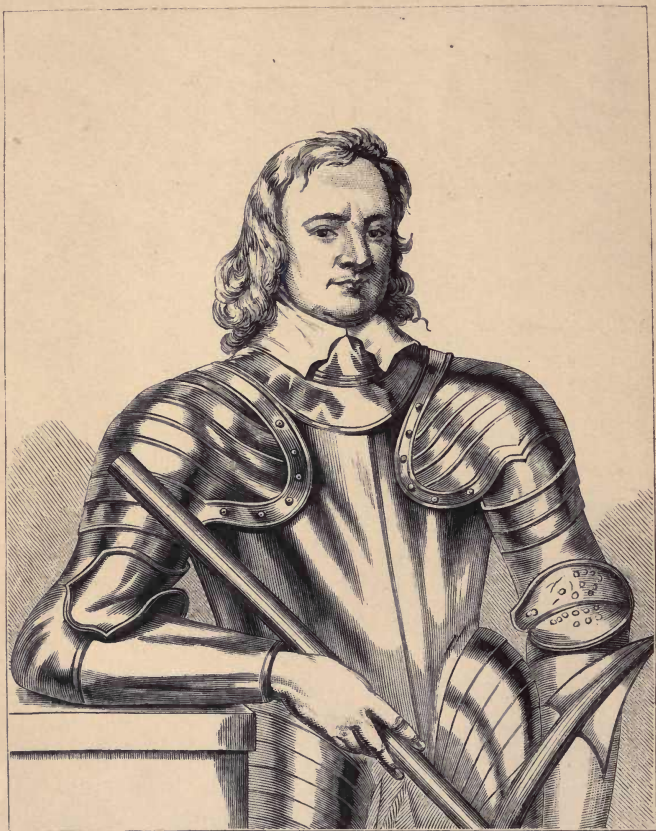






28





Grosvender 3 hands and Seals

Ri Deane



~~DEANE~~

THE LIFE

OF

RICHARD DEANE,

MAJOR-GENERAL AND GENERAL-AT-SEA

IN THE SERVICE OF

THE COMMONWEALTH,

AND ONE OF THE

COMMISSIONERS OF THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE

APPOINTED FOR THE

TRIAL OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

BY

JOHN BATHURST DEANE, M.A., F.S.A.,

OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE
NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY;
RECTOR OF SAINT MARTIN OUTWICH, LONDON.

LONDON:
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND COMPANY.

1870.

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RICHARD DANK

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Portrait of Richard Dank
 M.A. 1954, B.A. 1951, B.S. 1953
 Last of the class of 1954
 History 1.2 on History of the
 Faculty of Arts and Science, U.T.

JOHN BURNETT LEVINE M.A. 1954

in 1954, the year of his graduation, he was
 the first of his class to receive a
 Ph.D. in the field of history.

LONDON
 WINDSOR

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PORTRAIT OF RICHARD DEANE	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
MINIATURE OF RICHARD DEANE	Page 388
LIST OF THE FLEET, JUNE 1653	„ 636
FUNERAL CAR OF RICHARD DEANE	„ 679
PORTRAIT OF MR. E. LENTHALL SWIFTE, ÆT. 92	„ 50

PORTRAITS AND ENGRAVINGS OF GENERAL DEANE.

1. Half-length in armour, left arm leaning on the fluke of an anchor, a truncheon in the right hand. Painted by *Walker*.

This was in the possession of (Sykes?) a painter in Lincoln's Inn Fields at the beginning of this century, but its subsequent fate I have not been able to discover. It was probably the picture formerly in the Cornbury Collection, and separated from it when that Collection was divided between the Clarendon and Douglas families, but is not now to be found in either. It is supposed to have fallen to the share of the latter, and to have been sold, among others, by the then head of the family, for want of room for them in Douglas Castle! *

A drawing of this portrait by *Gardiner* is in the illustrated Clarendon in the Queen's Library at Windsor. An engraving in outline was taken for Mr. Sutherland, of which copies may be occasionally met with.

2. Another portrait is in the possession of the Earl of Dartmouth. It represents the Admiral in a sitting posture, with an anchor beside him, holding a truncheon, a ship in the left distance.

3. A miniature by *Cooper*, which has descended from Hannah, daughter of Admiral Deane, to her descendant Edmund Lenthall Swifte, Esq., late Keeper of the Crown Jewels in the Tower. There is a resemblance of features between this and the portrait in the possession of the Earl of Dartmouth. †

4. An engraving from No. 1, *Borquet*, *sc.* was published by Mr. Scott. Half-length, large.

5. A proof; name in open letters; and another proof without letters, taken for Mr. Sutherland, is in the Illustrated Granger, presented by him to the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

* Information kindly communicated by the late Earl of Clarendon.

† Ditto by the Earl of Dartmouth.

OPINIONS OF CONTEMPORARIES.

“ Two hours after day Mr. Deane came, who is an honest, judicious, and stout man.”

The Earl of Essex to Sir Philip Stapleton, 1644.

“ An honest and able servant of the Commonwealth.”

General Monk's Despatch, June 3, 1653.

“ So fair without, so free from spot within,

“ That earth seemed here to be devoid of sin.”

Elegy on the Death of General Richard Deane, by J. R., 1653.

“ A godly and valiant gentleman.”

Edinburgh Intelligencer, 1653.

“ A cross fellow, thought fit to be one of Cromwell's complices.”

Heath's Chronicle.

“ As void of honesty as he was full of brutal courage.”

Anon.

“ When the King's death was contrived among them, this Col. Deane is a very forward busiebody to promote and countenance it.”

Lives of the Regicides by Dr. Bates, 1661.

“ This Deane, though he was a Beamist in religion, yet he retired for two hours to some private devotions (*which was not usual with him*) the morning before his death.”

Prince's Worthies of Devon. Life of Monk.

“ Hence, ye detractors ! for, if understood,
The ill of him was better than your good !”

Th. Tw : Δεανόφιλος. 1653.

PREFACE.

ADDISON in his "Freeholder" remarks, that "it were happy for us could we prevail upon ourselves to imagine that one who differs from us in opinion may, possibly, be an honest man," and he applauds the sentiment of "the famous Sir Francis Bacon, who, after having bequeathed his soul to God and his body to the earth, left his fame to foreign nations, and *after some years* to his own country."

Above two hundred and twenty years have elapsed since the judicial execution of King Charles the First, in the promotion of which the subject of this memoir bore no small part. It is time, then, that something more should be known of him than that he was a Rebel and a Regicide, in which two characters chiefly has RICHARD DEANE, the victorious colleague of ROBERT BLAKE, been known to the generality of his countrymen.

It is always a difficult, and often an invidious, task to write the life of a man who was evil spoken of by a large number of his contemporaries as a disturber of the public peace, and extravagantly eulogised by others as among the bravest and best of men—

So fair without, so free from spot within,
That earth seemed here to be devoid of sin.

But, difficult and invidious as the task may be, I have willingly undertaken it in this instance, partly through a hope of being able to throw some light upon some of the obscurer parts of English history, and partly to rescue from unmerited neglect the fame of a brave man, who, whatever may have been his faults as a disloyal subject, was in the adoption of his cause "an honest man," and in the prosecution of it a bold and unflinching one; who, actuated by a strong, even if mistaken, sense of religion, evinced the earnestness of his convictions and the sincerity of his patriotism by laying down his life for his country when he might easily, and even justifiably,

have avoided the danger on the plea of the public service; for, when called to the command of the fleet at a most critical period of the Dutch War to revenge the defeat of Blake by Tromp, he was Chief Civil Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of Scotland, for the pacification of which country he had lately received the Thanks of Parliament, and which, by his relinquishment of its government, might be in jeopardy of a relapse into rebellion, an apprehension which was realized by his successor. It was not therefore without a warrant that the writer of his epitaph attested—

Hoc piæ magis memoriæ,
Quod Patriæ, victimâ victrici morte carituræ,
Vita ejus desideraretur.

In the pursuance of my task I have endeavoured to be as impartial as possible in the narration of events respecting which party feelings have run high for two centuries, and upon which opinions are still so divided, and always will be while England remains a constitutional monarchy; but it is not so easy to be impartial respecting the particular individual of whose participation in those events a biographer treats, for everyone who undertakes to write the life of another falls, almost insensibly, into an admiration of his subject, and is the only "valet" to whom "his master is a hero." Barring this natural weakness, I believe that I have faithfully recorded all that can be said for or against my "hero;" and, if I have succeeded in throwing any new light upon a dark spot, the success will be an ample remuneration for the labour, for I hold that everyone who contributes the smallest ray of illumination to history is *pro tanto* a benefactor to literature.

J. B. D.

Sept. 23rd, 1870.

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A MEMOIR
OF
GENERAL RICHARD DEANE.

Corrections.

- Page 53, line 25, for Thomas read Richard*
" 57, *for Captain Harrison read Doctor Harrison, Dean*
of Clanmacnoise
" " " *Edward Pead read Edmund Pead*
" " " *24 children read 28 children*
" 373, *line 14, for battle of Naseby read fall of Bristol*
" " " " " *that read a*
" 379, " 1, " *finisti read fuisti*
" " " 32, " *incussos read inconcussos*
" 531, " 15, } *Blackstone read Blackburne*
" 532, " 10, }
" 606, *last line, " 'unctious' read unctuous*

PROSTRATE FRANCE.

The "glorious" Revolution of 1688, important in its results to the liberties of the people, but in every other respect one of the most inglorious * episodes

* Macaulay's Hist. of Eng. vol. iv. p. 4, 12° edit.

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A MEMOIR
OF
GENERAL RICHARD DEANE.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

THE CAUSES AND ORIGIN OF THE CIVIL WAR.

I. There is no period of this country's history so interesting to the Englishman as that of the Civil War between King Charles and his Parliament: every other fades into comparative insignificance.

The Wars of the Barons, although they commemorate a successful struggle for liberty, belong to a remote and semi-civilized age, whose language, life, and manners we have changed, and whose religion we have nationally renounced.

The rivalry of the Roses, so attractive in romance and poetry, speaks only of a sanguinary and desolating strife of parties, which almost annihilated the nobility of England, and lost her the dominion of prostrate France.

The "glorious" Revolution of 1688, important in its results to the liberties of the people, but in every other respect one of the most inglorious * episodes

* Macaulay's Hist. of Eng. vol. iv. p. 4, 12^o edit.

of English history, dwindles into a homely and vulgar fact of which we accept the benefits, and are ashamed of the means and instruments.

But THE GREAT REBELLION speaks at once to our hearts and minds, not only because it involved principles which appeal to our common feelings, but also because imagination itself cannot picture a romance more attractive than the reality. No period of our annals presents such interesting varieties of character and conduct. Never were principles so strongly opposed to each other, and never were opposite opinions more resolutely maintained—loyalty and patriotism were never more earnestly in action, and never actuated by so little selfishness. And, as if to make the contrast still more striking—and as if nothing were to be wanting to complete the picture—never was costume, that apparently trivial, yet essentially expressive symbol of the spirit of an age, more picturesquely varied. The CAVALIER, in general better born, better bred, constitutionally gay, and sumptuously appointed, was confronted by the ROUNDHEAD, of generally humbler birth, but independent in his circumstances and proud of his independence, correct in morals, plain in attire, and severe even to fanaticism in his religion. The national attribute of courage was indeed equally conspicuous in both, but, acting upon different temperaments, was differently exhibited: *Spirit* in the one became *Resolution* in the other—" *God and the King*" was answered with " *God and the Cause*;" while " *Charge!*" and

“*Stand firm!*” expressed at once the tactics of the opposed Generals and the distinctive qualities of their men—fire and force being met by calmness and immobility.

Add to these contrasts those domestic characteristics of the strife, which were unhappily far from infrequent—house divided against house, father and son, brothers and near relations, ranged—as they sometimes were—on opposite sides; the spirit-stirring events which rapidly succeeded each other, and the terrible catastrophe which crowned them all—and we have enough of high romance to fascinate the most ardent lover of the picturesque, and enough of melancholy reality to satisfy the most serious moralizer.

Hence it is that those times, even at the distance of more than two centuries, seem to speak of men and things of which almost every village retains some sad memorial, while there is scarcely a family of position in England which does not cherish its ancestral tradition of a fiery trooper who charged with Rupert, or an enduring soldier who stood with Fairfax.

Our interest in those times is, therefore, strong and general, and the more so, that we still have much to learn of the personal characters and motives of the principal actors. The true character of the chief actor himself is still far from being understood. We are not yet quite sure whether we are to consider him as an incarnation of the fanaticism, the patriotism, or the hypocrisy of the age; whether

he was a selfish rebel against his King or a sincere believer in his own call for the deliverance of his country. Two centuries of criticism have left his actions almost as mysterious to us as his speeches and conversation were to his contemporaries.

We know little of the true character of Oliver Cromwell; still less do we know of many of the most zealous of his fellow-labourers in "The Cause"—those often obscure, yet always able instruments, by which men of genius and daring rise to power—without whom even he, the master-spirit of his age, could have done little to advance, and still less to secure, his own aggrandisement.

CROMWELL was the life and soul of the Great Rebellion; but he was assisted by men—a small but energetic band of devoted men—of whom some were but little inferior to himself in intellect and enterprise, who spared no pains, and shrunk from no labours, dangers, or daring, to secure what they conceived to be the first necessity of the nation—civil and religious freedom. Opinions differ widely as to the justice and morality of the means by which they gained their ends, but there is little difference of opinion as to the benefits which have been secured to us by their exertions—they fought, and we are free.

II. There are some who think that if Charles the First had listened to the dictates of his own honest nature, rather than to the advice of his infatuated counsellors, he might have worn his crown in peace

and transmitted it to his posterity with honour. But this is rather the suggestion of a pleasing hope than the conclusion of a rational conviction. The personal virtues of the King, if they had been allowed their full exercise, might perhaps have put off the evil day from himself; but that day would have come at last, for the seeds of revolution were in the soil of men's minds, and wanted only the warmth of popular excitement to bring them forth. *The destiny of the Great Rebellion was fixed at the Reformation.*

THE REFORMATION awakened ideas and set at liberty principles which required the strong hands of a Henry and an Elizabeth to control them—ideas and principles which were sure to overcome less resolute rulers; and such spirits as those of Henry the Eighth and his high-souled daughter Elizabeth are not to be expected above once in a nation's life.

Freedom of conscience forced upon an uneducated people produced, as its natural consequences, weakness of faith and impatience of authority. The people had been taught not only to think, but to think after a manner unknown to their fathers—to set up their own opinions as the guides of their own conduct, and *that* upon subjects which had hitherto been regarded as sacred, and separate, and not to be approached by the laity; and it was no longer in the power of the Church or the Crown to prevent the same right of private judgment from extending itself from the altar to the throne. For

those who had accustomed themselves to deny the infallibility of the Pope, found an easy transition to the abatement of the prerogatives of the King.

So long, however, as these prerogatives were maintained by the stern despotism of Henry, or by the resolute will of Elizabeth, the murmur of discontent was kept under by the arm of power. But no sooner had the sceptre of the Tudors fallen into the trembling, yet tenacious, hands of the son of Darnley, than the kingly authority began to be ridiculous, and loyalty itself a questionable virtue. For to a race of warriors had succeeded a prince whose only merit was a pusillanimous love of peace—to the conqueror of the Armada had succeeded a king who shuddered at the sight of a drawn sword; and, to make the indignity still more intolerable, the victorious sovereign had been a woman, and her trembling successor was, in outward form, a man!

The throne to which James the Sixth of Scotland succeeded was certainly beset with difficulties, but they were only such as a king of judgment and courage could have overcome. To the national and ordinary complication of politics was added the stimulus of national jealousy. This, however, might have been foreseen and guarded against; but James was not the king to do so. His undisguised partiality for his own countrymen aggravated the animosity of his English subjects against them; and frequent duels, and still more frequent street riots, were the consequence. And yet, notwithstanding

this cause of disagreement, there was one important bond of union between the two nations, which, had it been judiciously strengthened, might have made but one heart and hand between them—England and Scotland both enjoyed the blessings of the reformed religion at a time when that religion was persecuted upon the continent. Had James taken advantage of this common feeling, and, like Queen Elizabeth, proclaimed himself the protector of the Protestant cause in Christendom, his posterity would, in all probability, never have become wanderers through Europe, nor his kingdom have passed through a civil war to a republic. By retaliating upon Spain the insult of the Armada, or by prosecuting a vigorous war with France (a measure always popular in a healthy state of English feeling), he might have made his own name glorious, and his dynasty permanent. He could never, indeed, have led an army in person, but he might have placed one under the command of his noble-minded son Prince Henry, who, although a boy in years, was a hero in soul, and would have been cheerfully followed by the bravest and best of Great Britain. For they knew that he entertained the ambition of rivalling the Black Prince and Henry the Fifth, and his example would have stirred the hearts of both kingdoms. But, at the most critical moment of this expectation, a sudden, and, as many thought, a suspicious death, deprived the nation of their hopeful prince; and the loss was the greater that his surviving brother, although abundantly gifted with

passive courage, had no genuine martial ardour, or aptitude for arms; no true patriotic ambition for the exaltation of his country's glory. As to the father of these two princes, the world beheld in him the strange and astonishing spectacle of a king of two of the most martial nations of Europe loving peace at any price of infamy, and of the ruler of a land abounding in wealth grudging the expense of a war of righteousness. That his love of peace originated in personal timidity was sufficiently degrading; but his parsimony was a vice hardly less odious, for the money saved was saved only to be squandered upon unworthy favourites who flattered and governed him by the natural superiority of strong minds over a weak one. The King, under forms of law, plundered the people, and "they of the household divided the spoil."

James the First was, therefore, justly despised by his subjects, and only tolerated by them because they regarded him as, after all, a *Protestant* king, whose life had been attempted by fanatics of a Church, the most constant and unscrupulous enemy of every kind of liberty.

III. It has been usual with a certain class of writers, who, having no religious principles of their own, cannot believe in the influence of religion over the minds of others, to represent the contest between Charles and his Parliament as simply a struggle between arbitrary power and popular rights. Such it may have eventually become, but in the begin-

ning it was not so. The demand for "liberty" would soon have been satisfied had the question involved only political privileges. It was by slow degrees, and very reluctantly at last, that the bulk of the nation was brought to entertain the reasonableness of levying war against the King; and they did this, not so much because the King sought to govern without a Parliament, as that, according to their persuasion, he was bent upon changing their religion. They were convinced that their faith was in danger, and that the Romanizing tendencies of the King and of the Bishops were the cause of this danger; and in their alarm having drawn the sword, in their zeal they threw away the scabbard.

This discontent first began to manifest itself with the reports of the negotiations for the marriage of Prince Charles with an Infanta of Spain, on which occasion London was filled with the wildest apprehensions. A gentleman of the time, Walter Yonge, Member of Parliament for Honiton, has left a Diary,* which throws an important light on public affairs and popular feelings during the last years of James and the first years of Charles. Writing in October 1622 he says, "The Jesuists and Papists do wonderfully swarm in the city; and rumours have been given out for the firing of the navy and house of munition, on which are set a double guard." These rumours obtained an easy credit, for the

* From 1604 to 1628. Printed for the Camden Society.

recollection of the Gunpowder Plot proved that *some* Papists, at least, were capable of reconciling such an atrocity to their consciences; but *how many* no one could tell.

Parliament met on the 22nd of February, 1622, and commenced its proceedings with a proclamation ordering all Jesuits and Romish priests to depart from Ireland within forty days; and four Roman Catholic peers, the Earl of Rutland, Lord Arundel of Wardour, Lord Morley, and Lord Montacute, were expelled the House of Lords for refusing to take the oath of supremacy; and some burgesses of the House of Commons were expelled for the same reason.

On the 16th of May the King, at the instance of Parliament, issued a royal proclamation ordering all Jesuits and Romish priests to depart the realm before the 12th of July, and threatening pains and penalties against all who should be found in the country on that day, and against all who should harbour them.

This looked like earnest. But no sooner was the Parliament prorogued than James resumed his courage, rescinded his proclamation, and restored the four expelled lords to their privileges.

On the 25th of August he waxed still bolder, and ordered "that none should be imprisoned for holding any points of Popery, or denying to take the oath of supremacy."

Before the end of the year, however, in anticipation of the meeting of Parliament, the statutes

against recusants were again put in force.* This political *seesaw* went on through the remaining years of King James, proving him to be as morally as he was physically pusillanimous. Had he lived a few years longer he would, probably, have been dethroned, without a hand being lifted up in his defence. For the people could not but perceive that he was always ready to counteract the popular will the moment he found it safe to do so; and they naturally looked behind the throne for the influence. It was evident that the King thought that High Church or even Popish principles were better suited to the prerogative which he claimed than the more independent Protestantism of the nation. Or that he had some Roman Catholic adviser near him crafty enough to secure his ear and alarm his sensitive despotism. Such a person they believed they had discovered in the Duke of Buckingham, whose mother and stepfather were both Papists, and who was known to be the adviser of the Spanish match—as he was, afterwards, the contriver of the French. The King, happily for himself, did not live to see his son married. His death revived the hopes of his Protestant subjects, which were, however, doomed to be disappointed. For it was discovered that no material change had taken place in the foreign policy of the Government, and this disappointment was the greater, as the cause of it was peculiarly ignominious. A shameful compact had been secretly made by James with the King

* Yonge's Diary, 73.

of France to furnish the aid of an English squadron against the heroic defenders of Rochelle, whose cause was that of the Reformation, and whose courage had hitherto baffled all the power of their Romish persecutors.

This compact was virtually at an end with the death of James, if Charles had thought fit to think so; but the Duke of Buckingham, who had been bought by the money or the flattery of Richelieu, to recommend the measure to the late King, was induced by the same influence, or by his own vanity, to urge its renewal upon Charles; and he could do so on the strong plea of a legacy of duty; and, perhaps, also as a condition of Charles's marriage with the French Princess Henrietta Maria, with whom the romantic prince had already fallen in love. But whatever may have been the arguments used by Buckingham, or whether any argument at all were necessary or not—the result was, that the promised ships were sent, and employed against Rochelle.

This was the first public act of the reign of Charles the First and the beginning of his own misfortunes. For the people, roused from their dream of confidence in a Protestant king, were easily brought to look upon this invasion of the religious liberties of their co-religionists as the forerunner of a probable attack upon their own; and they distrusted a sovereign who—with the Duke of Buckingham, the son of a Roman Catholic mother, for his favourite minister, and Laud, a “Romanizing prelate,” for his

spiritual adviser, and a Roman Catholic princess for his elected queen—*fired his first shot upon his own subjects!*

This last charge was too true; for Admiral Pennington, who commanded the squadron, had been ordered to fire upon any of his ships who refused to hoist the French flag, and some of the hired merchantmen fell under this category and were fired upon. The "Great Neptune" hoisted sail and escaped under a shower of cannon balls, and carried the news of the disgraceful transaction to Portsmouth, from whence it flew like lightning through the land, and raised an universal outcry of indignation against the Duke of Buckingham, who was, truly, believed to be the adviser of the deed of shame. From this moment commenced that determined and untiring opposition of the House of Commons to the King which did not cease until, step by step, they usurped the authority of King and Parliament, overthrew the Church, and brought the King to the scaffold.

IV. Although the progress of events was so slow that more than fifteen years elapsed before the idea of the lawfulness of taking up arms against the King became familiarised to the minds of the people, yet in all this time there was hardly a period upon which we can put our finger and say, "At this point the King and Parliament might have been reconciled." For the treachery of 1625 had loosened an avalanche whose motion, at

first slow, was gradually accelerated until it became irresistible, and all through the blindness of the King's advisers to the "signs of the times." They thought that if the patience of the people could tolerate such an unkingly king as James, much more readily would it submit to the manlier authority of Charles. But they did not perceive the difference between a contemptuous submission to a feeble tyrant and an anxious subjection to a powerful monarch whose will, if tyrannical, might be irresistible, or only to be resisted by force of arms, an alternative to which the hereditary loyalty of the nation was not, as yet, reconciled.

The Privy Council were, at length, awakened to the necessity of doing something to neutralise the effects of the treachery of 1625. To divert the attention of the people from this dangerous topic they affected an alarm of another Popish plot, and issued a proclamation against the "plotters." The danger was at a distance, convenient for their purpose, for it could not confidently be denied. It was in Devonshire, and against the Popish recusants of that remote county the ministers of the Crown launched their thunderbolt. Every Roman Catholic was to be disarmed!

The House of Commons, enlightened, probably, by the Strodes and Eliots of the West, saw through the trick, and fixed instinctively upon the real "plotter." They impeached the Duke of Buckingham of high crimes and misdemeanours, and on the 27th March, 1626, charged him with "conduct

tending to disgrace the nation and the King's power abroad;" and especially instanced the employment of the squadron against Rochelle.

This bill of attainder passed the House of Commons and was carried up to the Lords by the mover and seconder, Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges. The step was a bold one, and was met by a bolder on the part of the King—an arbitrary proceeding which was as impolitic as it was unconstitutional. Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges were committed to the Tower, "*at which,*" says Walter Yonge, "*the House was much concerned.*" A less cautious diarist, or a more outspoken man, would have written, "*much and justly irritated,*" for that was the plain truth of the matter; so plain that on the 15th of June the King dissolved the Parliament "because they would not treat of subsidies, and give over their persecuting of the Duke."

This was the first overt act of the King against the House of Commons, and was never forgotten or forgiven by them; while the King, for his part, never forgot or forgave this first resistance to his known wishes.

V. The Duke of Buckingham was now indelibly fixed in the minds of the people as the public enemy. The discontented members of the dissolved Parliament carried his odious name as the author of all the national troubles into the remotest part of the kingdom. And had the King been, like most other

sovereigns, more selfish or less generous than he was, he would have laid his own unconstitutional proceedings to the charge of his minister, and at the expense of this scapegoat would have avoided the penalty of his own imprudence. But Charles was by far too generous to allow another to take the responsibility which belonged to himself. He would not submit to the dictation of the House of Commons, and he would not sacrifice his friend to save himself. His first act, accordingly, after the dissolution of Parliament, was an indirect defiance of public opinion by the appointment of Buckingham to be President of the Council of War—a post of the highest dignity and power, and a menace to his enemies.

The favour of the King did not stop here. To the military dignity he added one of the most honourable of civil distinctions, the chancellorship of the University of Cambridge, to which, by his influence alone, the Duke was elected after a severe and close contest. The Bishop of London (Laud), at the express desire of the King, sent his chaplain, Dr. Wilson, to Cambridge, with letters to the Heads of houses, and with a strong verbal message to the electors, “that it was His Majesty’s pleasure that they should elect the Duke of Buckingham as their Chancellor.”

Almost all the Heads of colleges, who were *ex officio* expectants of bishoprics or deaneries, exerted themselves to the utmost to secure his election, but the members of the Senate, of whom the majority

were laymen, were not so tractable. It was one of the most expressive signs of the times that the election of the King's nominee and notorious favourite was carried, after all, by a majority of *three* only.

But, damnatory as this equivocal success was, it came at a moment of need to the universally detested subject of it; and Buckingham was so elated at his election, that he gave the doctors a feast, which was said to have cost him *two thousand pounds*—an enormous sum in those days—and a large one at any period to be so spent. This profusion exasperated the Duke's enemies still more against him, for it was a time of scarcity, and the popular lecturers of London did not fail to denounce the extravagance as a robbery of the poor!

The unpopularity of the Duke increased daily, but the haughty favourite took no pains to diminish it. On the contrary, he seemed to set the nation at defiance; so that, had he not been assassinated by Felton when he was, he would probably have met with the fate of his unfortunate physician, astrologer, or wizard, Dr. Lambe, who was murdered by a mob in Cheapside, for no other reason than that he was "*The Duke's devil!*"

This atrocious outrage occurred in the mayoralty of Sir Richard Deane, 1628-9; and the impunity of the perpetrators was regarded as a proof of the waning loyalty of the Corporation of London, who would not inquire too curiously into what had befallen a friend of the King's Friend. The principles of the lord mayor had a puritanical bias, and

it was probably from him that his relative, the subject of this memoir, imbibed his first religious and political opinions. For by birth and baptism he was a member of the Church of England. It was not until three years after this outrage that the case of Lambe was brought before the Court of King's Bench as an instance of City misrule, when the Corporation were fined 1,500 marks for neglect of duty.

“ In Easter term, 1632,” says Whitelocke, “ the business of the death of Dr. Lambe was in the King's Bench, when it appeared that he was neither *doctor* nor any way lettered; but a man odious to the vulgar for some rumours that went of him; that he was a conjuror or sorcerer; and he was quarrelled with in the streets of London; and, as the people more and more gathered about him, they pelted him with rotten eggs, stones, and other riff-raff, jostled him, bruised him, and so continued pursuing him from street to street, till there were five hundred people together following him. This continued three whole hours together, until night, and no magistrate, or officer of the peace, showed himself to stop the tumult. So the poor man, being above eighty years of age, died of this violence, and no inquiry was taken of it, nor any of the malefactors discovered in the City.”

Nothing but the popular persuasion that Lambe was a favourite servant—“ physician,” “ conjuror,” or “ devil ” of the Duke of Buckingham, can ac-

count for this atrocious conduct of the mob, and the culpable supineness of the City authorities, who must have sympathised with them. The diary of *John Rous*, which also mentions this outrage, contains many other instances of the popular hatred of the Duke, whose "protection" was dangerous to every individual suspected of being under it. The spirit of Felton pervaded the whole lower stratum of the community; so that, if Buckingham had escaped the knife of that assassin, he would probably have fallen under some other hand. "*Well done, little David!*" would have hailed the success of any other slayer of "Goliath," as it did that of Felton, as he was borne, under arrest, through London.

Another writer of these times, *Mr. Meade*,* whose letters to Sir Martin Stuteville afford valuable illustrations of this period, mentions an ominous occurrence, which caused much alarm and comment at the time. On the 14th of June, 1628, a paper was found stuck up against a post in Coleman Street, and was read with approbation by hundreds of passers by, among whom there was not one who ventured or desired to tear it down! It was as follows:—

“ Who rules the Kingdom?—*The King!*

Who rules the King?—*The Duke!*

Who rules the Duke?—*The Devil!!*

“ Let the Duke look to it! We shortly intend to serve him worse than we have served his Doctor; and, if things be not shortly reformed, we will reform them!”

* *Ellis's Letters*, p. 252.

“About the last day of July,” Rous tells us,* “fell out a grievous stirre in London, neare the Temple, begunne by the arrest of a Captaine (*ut dicitur*), and continuing many hours, and one whole night. So that the Lord Mayor† and armed souldiers came. Many were hurt by brick-bats and such like, and eight or nine were slaine by sword and shotte. Some continued after four proclamations for departure. Two young Rhé Captains, Stamford and Ashton, were hanged. *Stamford had been the Duke’s man.*”

The Lord Mayor upon this occasion was active enough, and was knighted for his conduct—and justly so—for he was in the thickest of the fight, in which his serjeant-major of the Trained Bands and some of his soldiers were killed. But there was no “Duke’s devil” here to be worried by a godly mob. The only “*Duke’s man*” in the *mêlée* was captured by his worship, and hanged, to the satisfaction, doubtless, of the whole city.

In a month after this, viz. August 23, the Duke himself was assassinated, and, notwithstanding the natural abhorrence of Englishmen for the cowardly crime of assassination, there were few in London who did not regard the act as a national deliverence.

The King, fond and faithful to the last, ordered a sumptuous funeral for his friend; but when the day of burial arrived “a very poor one was brought out at ten o’clock at night, attended by only one hundred persons, and even these were said to have

* Diary, p. 42.

† Sir Richard Deane.

followed an empty coffin!"* so great was the fear lest the populace should tear the body of the hated favourite to pieces!

John Rous informs us that, "at the time of the Duke's funeral, the soldiers, or companies of London, who attended it, being ordered to trail their pikes and beat dolefully, they contrarily did beat up amaine with courage and shouldered their pikes. The Earl of Dorset found fault, but could not tell how to help it." †

Mr. Maude mentions the same fact, but accounts for it differently. He says that the Trained Bands "acted under orders"—an explanation which makes the matter worse, for it tends to prove the unpopularity of the Duke in higher circles.

The Duke of Buckingham was, indeed, the King's evil genius—the proximate cause of all his misfortunes. Under his pernicious influence (which unhappily survived him) the King endeavoured to govern without a Parliament; and for *fourteen* years did so; little suspecting that every year made the people more discontented and his own ultimate success more hopeless.

VI. The Duke of Buckingham had advised the King to revive the ancient expedient of a "*benevolence*." James had done so, on a small scale, in 1622, when it was resisted by Lord Saye and his son-in-law the Earl of Lincoln, as illegal, because not sanctioned by Parliament; and it was not very

* Ellis's Letters, iii. 343.

† *Ibid.* p. 31.

vigorously enforced. Charles listened to the advice, and carried its suggestions to excess. He demanded four times as much as his father had done from his subjects, under the penalty, in case of refusal, of *being pressed for soldiers*. "Many," says Yonge, "were committed to prison in London, and there were, besides, *four distinct presses*." This "*benevolence*," however, produced little, or much less than was required, and was rescinded; and instead of it five "*subsidies*" were ordered by proclamation. This infatuation of the King's councillors was extraordinary and incomprehensible: for *subsidies* by mere proclamation were even more unconstitutional than "*benevolences*;" for, whereas a "*benevolence*" might be *requested* legally enough, no *subsidy* could be granted except by a vote of the House of Commons. The result was that the "*subsidies*" were resisted by many persons whose positions ought to have warned, if they did not alarm, the King's advisers. Sir Francis Barrington and Sir William Masham openly denied the legality of the proceeding, and were, as illegally, committed to the Tower. The Lord Chief Justice, Sir Randall Crewe, refused to pay, or to acknowledge the legality of, the tax, and was displaced. The other judges paid their respective assessments, but "refused to subscribe the same as a *legal* course."

These examples were infectious, and the infection spread rapidly. Norfolk, Suffolk, Cumberland, and Lincoln were the first counties to resist the

illegal payment, and refused to pay up even what they had, at first, promised as voluntary contributions. The Government invoked the terrors of the Star Chamber, and the prosecutions thus begun advanced with a rigour and rapidity proportioned rather to the wants and indignation of the ministers, than to the numbers and obstinacy of the recusants. Still, the number of arrests was great, especially in London, where the prisons were so full that it was proposed to send some of the prisoners to county gaols, with the double object of relieving London, and of aggravating the punishment of the delinquents, by removing them to a distance from their families.

Had the revenues of the Government been equal to its expenditure, it would have been irresistibly despotic; but the arms of both the civil and ecclesiastical powers were pinioned by poverty. Every scheme for raising money to carry on the business of the State had become abortive, and the King was at last compelled to confess that neither royal prerogative nor inherent loyalty were sufficient to induce the people to answer demands which were illegal. The nation had been accustomed to tax itself voluntarily by its representatives in the House of Commons, and would not be coerced or coaxed into paying taxes by simple Orders in Council or Royal Proclamations, however much it might esteem the personal character of the sovereign.

After eleven years of ingenuity on the part of the King's ministers to invent taxes, and of the people

to evade them, the King was compelled to call a Parliament for the ordinary expenses of Government. But the remedy had been delayed too long to be an antidote to the disease. The Parliament, so called, almost immediately showed its hostility to the King's assumed prerogative of taxation by Orders in Council.

During the interval, the demand of SHIP MONEY had been made, and resisted by John Hampden. The time was now arrived for testing the validity of this tax.

The first act of the new House of Commons, which met April 13, 1640, was to declare SHIP MONEY, so levied, to be illegal. The ancient practice was to levy it only on London and the seaport towns, which were considered to be chiefly, if not entirely, benefited by shipping. The House would allow this application of the tax, but would not hear of its being extended to inland places. This temper of the House was so disagreeable to the King that he dissolved it, after a few weeks of sitting, and summoned another by writs returnable on the 3rd of November.

The new House of Commons had hardly taken the oaths, when they began business with demanding a "*Redress of Grievances*"; and on the 11th of November instituted proceedings against the Earl of Strafford — a revived Buckingham — for "HIGH TREASON!"

But the true cause of this animosity against Strafford was his desertion of the popular party.

He had been one of the first and most able advocates of liberty against prerogative; and now he had become an uncompromising asserter of the highest powers of the Crown. The mantle of Buckingham had fallen upon and fitted his shoulders, and the policy of Buckingham was carried out, with even more than Buckingham's determination. This was but the natural result of cause and effect; for the same restless spirit which produces an excessive love of "Liberty" in the "Patriot," becomes the spirit of Tyranny in the "Patriot" in power. The *Radical* is naturally a *Despot*; the "*beggar on horseback*" always "*rides to the Devil.*"

The successful prosecution of Strafford was followed by a fierce attack upon the CHURCH, whose government by Bishops and Deans was declared to be "burdensome to the people," and "Nineteen Articles" were framed by a packed committee against them, which, absurd and untrue as many of them were, were declared to be "fit to be exhibited to the House"; and "exhibited" they were, accordingly, and approved.

The framers and approvers of the "Nineteen Articles" endeavoured to justify their violent proceedings in the eyes of the nation by undertaking to show that "*the Bishops were leading scandalous lives*"; and in support of this charge it was gravely asserted:—*

1. That the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry

* See Sir Ralph Verney's Notes on The Long Parliament, p. 14.

being invited to dine with Dr. Warner, the new Bishop of Rochester, three or four healths were begun, and Mr. Rawlinson was pressed to drink them, when Dr. Warner stood on the middle of the table, and said—“*Et stans medio, dixit Pax Vobiscum!*”—and so drank the King’s health.

2. That Bayley, Bishop of Bangor, said to the Bishop of Ely—“*Eli, Eli, Lama Sabacthani*—here’s to thee a health!”

3. That “the Bishop of Gloucester’s servants swore and danced on Sundays.”

Such were the charges—the only ones—brought against the Bishops, and accepted as “proofs” that the whole body of Bishops were “leading scandalous lives”! The House of Commons, by a considerable majority, voted these charges “sufficient” against “the government of the Church by Bishops,” and Episcopacy was, accordingly, abolished.

It is somewhat singular, according to our modern notions of propriety, that no notice was taken of the certainly unepiscopal life and manners of Juxon, Bishop of London, of whom Whitelocke has left this remarkable character:—“He was much delighted with hunting, and kept a pack of good hounds, and had them so well ordered and hunted, and chiefly by his own skill and discretion, that they exceeded all other in England for the pleasure and orderly hunting of them.”

Melton Mowbray would rejoice in such a Bishop, and especially when told that “he was a person of great parts and temper, and had as much command

of himself as of his hounds ;” that “ he was full of ingenuity (ingenuousness) and meekness, not apt to give offence to any, and willing to do good to all men.”

It was this benevolence which, probably, saved him from being reckoned among the “ scandalous ” Bishops. For, although some allowance may be made for the early friendship of Whitelocke and Juxon, as schoolfellows at Merchant Taylors’, and fellow students at St. John’s, Oxford, yet it is a certain fact that Juxon, both as Bishop of London and subsequently as Archbishop of Canterbury, was one of the most respected prelates of his times, in spite of his pack of hounds, and his “ skill and discretion in ordering them ;” for he ordered himself and his clergy generally with equal “ skill and discretion.”

VII. It is an unhappy condition of human nature that reformers of abuses no sooner find themselves in a position to reform them, than they create abuses still more intolerable than those against which they protested when out of power. Such was the case with the House of Commons of 1640—the “ Long Parliament ”—self-prolonged and self-empowered. The floodgates against popular violence being removed, the tyranny of the King was changed into the tyranny of the House of Commons. Not only every arbitrary act of the King in Council, of the Star Chamber, and of the High Court of Commission, was declared to be

illegal and tyrannical, but almost every discretionary act, however innocent, was voted to be arbitrary, and condemned. Every exercise of the royal prerogative was denounced, or reversed; and every artifice employed to persuade the people that the King had deliberately formed a plan for the subversion of the religion and liberties of the nation.

From this point the descent of the King's power and authority was rapid; from words he was soon driven to arms. It was his weakness never to resist, or to give way, at the right time. He was always too obstinate in his untimely resistance, or too easy in his untimely yielding; and thus the most moral and conscientious King who ever sat upon the throne of England, and the ruler of the least bloodthirsty people in Europe, was the first of European sovereigns who was solemnly and judicially put to death by his own subjects.

Among the most resolute of the regicidal tribunal was RICHARD DEANE: one of those extraordinary men produced by revolutionary times, who by the innate force of an energetic character surmount the difficulties of birth and station, and, rising to authority, seem as if they had been born and educated for it; no one wondering either at their elevation, or at the ease with which they discharge the duties of the highest offices. Great revolutions are fertile in such men, who, according as they use or abuse their fortunes, may be regarded as the glory or curse of their country. Whether *Richard*

Deane, the Regicide, is to be reckoned in the former or the latter category, will depend upon the religious and political bias of the readers of his life, as written in the pages of English history; but few, if any, will deny that—

“All the courses of his life do show
He was not found in th’ roll of common men.”

CHAPTER I.

REPUTED ORIGIN AND EDUCATION OF RICHARD DEANE.

1. RICHARD DEANE first appears in history as an officer of artillery in the army of the Parliament, which marched out of London, under the command of the Earl of Essex, September 9, 1642.

The first official mention of his name is made by his general, in his despatch of August 30, 1644, where he describes him as "*an honest, judicious, and stout man*;" which, according to the phraseology of the time and party, means "a faithful servant of the State, a good officer, and a brave soldier."

From the date of his entering the service of the Parliament to the day of his death, in chief command of the fleet at the battle of the North Foreland, June 2, 1653, only eleven years had elapsed; a shortness of time the more remarkable inasmuch as there is every reason to believe that he entered the service as a volunteer—an ordinary artilleryman. He must, therefore, have been a man of singular abilities, and of no inconsiderable interest with those in authority; for unassisted merit, even in revolutionary times, would hardly have sufficed for such rapid promotion. And yet there is no prominent officer of the Commonwealth of whom so little, and

that so untrustworthy, has been recorded by the chroniclers of the Great Rebellion.

The reason of this may be, that his brief memorials were first compiled, from hearsay, by some petty pamphleteer, who has been servilely followed by others of the same stamp, who could see nothing, even professionally, meritorious in one who had sat as a commissioner in the "High Court of Justice," and had signed the death-warrant of the King.

It is possible, however, that the military renown of Cromwell, and the naval glories of Blake, may have overshadowed the achievements of their less-distinguished comrade. The early death of Richard Deane, which opened the way for the elevation of Monck, may also have contributed to cast a veil over his exploits; but the main fact that he was one of the most active in bringing the King to trial and execution was sufficient, in the eyes of the Royalists of 1660, to ignore his services to the nation. His personal character was beyond the shafts of ridicule, for, although an Independent, he was no fanatic; and his known courage and military genius were too great to be mentioned without praise, and were, therefore, passed over in prudent silence. It was the best and safest course to avoid comparisons. But his worst enemies could not ignore him as one of the conquerors of Tromp; and, having nothing to say in disparagement of his military or naval conduct, indemnified themselves by stigmatising his courage as "brutal" and his origin as "low." Men who were themselves of the lowest and most

obscure, thought they said enough to consign their political adversaries to contempt if they could but throw a suspicion upon their gentle birth; and imagined that in so doing they were in some way excusing the defeats of the Royalists. Starting from the principle—which is fundamentally the right one—that the most noble actions are to be expected from those who have the noblest names to support, they fell into the mistake, that *no* great actions could be performed by those who had no historical names to sustain. Hence, whenever a successful general appeared in the ranks of the Parliamentarians, they ignored his deeds, if they could not obscure his name; and, conversely, defamed his name and origin, if they could not deny or discredit his deeds.

Thus Cromwell, a cadet of an ancient family, who had received his education at the University of Cambridge,* was designated a “*Brewer*,” with no better grounds for the reproach than that his mother was a brewer’s widow;† for it is admitted that Oliver himself never followed that or any other trade. Upon this slight foundation was raised the report which furnished so much amusement at the court of Charles the Second.

* He was admitted a Fellow Commoner at Sidney Sussex College, April 23, 1616; and under his name in the college book, some zealous Royalist has written “*Hic fuit grandis ille impostor, carnifex perditissimus, qui pietissimo Rege, Carolo Primo nefariâ cæde sublato, ipsum invasit thronum, et Tria Regna per quinque fermè annorum spatium, sub Protectoris nomen, indomitâ tyrannide vexavit.*”

† Heath’s *Flagellum*, p. 11.

But Oliver Cromwell did not absorb all their contemptible contempt. Major-General Skippon, one of the most scientific officers of his age, came in for his share. He had been an officer in the waggon train of Grave Maurice of Nassau in the Low Countries, and was, accordingly, held up to ridicule as a "*waggoner*." General Harrison, also, the son of an opulent grazier of the North, and himself brought up to the law in one of the Inns of Court, was—not figuratively, but in sober earnest—made an object of contempt and hatred as a "*butcher*;" and not a few of the Royalists believed him to have been one, and accounted for his ferocity in the field of battle by his training in the slaughter-house.

The Parliamentarian Admiral Sir William Penn, whose father was a captain in the Royal Navy, was, in like manner, said to have risen from a cabin boy, because his father took him, when very young, into his own ship to teach him the rudiments of his destined profession, and, occasionally, employed him in such menial offices as were likely to instruct him in the ordinary duties of the service.

Analogous to these misrepresentations is R. Symonds's account of the origin of Bradshaw, the President of the High Court of Justice—"Bradshaw, the most impudent lawyer that judged the King to die, was the son of a collar-maker in Chester."* This reputed parentage may have been truly stated, but Symonds might have remarked

* Historical Notes, p. 82.

that the family of Bradshaw, or Bradshaigh, to which the President belonged, was one of the oldest and best in Lancashire. Clarendon, indeed, says that "the lawyers employed against the King were conspicuous only from their obscurity;"* but he only means that they were not known as leaders of the bar, which was probably the truth, for they were juniors, and, as such, naturally in search of employment, and indifferent as to the quarter from which it was to come. Party is a barrister's vocation, and generally his surest road to promotion; and who ever condemns a young lawyer for taking up with any political party—or credits him with sincerity in the expression of any political opinions? Here and there we may find one who prefers his principles to his interests, but the case is rare, and the man "a monster." Bradshaw, no doubt, was in want of a lucrative employment, and embraced the one offered to him without any scruples of conscience. His detractors might have been content with stigmatizing his poverty, but had no right, or no valid grounds, to defame his origin. This calumny was of a piece with those heaped upon the other regicides.

With these, and similar instances of the perversion of facts before us, we can hardly be surprised to hear that Richard Deane "*began his career as the servant of 'one Button,' a hoyman of Ipswich;*" nor

* "*Conspicuous from their absence,*" the facetious saying for which a Prime Minister of our own times has been sufficiently laughed at, as if it were an importation from the Green Isle, is, after all, neither so Hibernian nor so original as we have been taught to consider it.

that “*when the war began he was a matross of artillery;*” that he had been “*a hoyman, as his father had been before him,*” and “*a boatswain on board of a man-of-war*”—all which has been said of him by different pamphleteers, utterly unconscious that if even half of these loose assertions could be proved, they would amount to the greatest possible compliment which could be paid to the genius and abilities of the man who from such an humble origin could rise so rapidly to such high distinction.

II. There is however, generally speaking, some substratum of truth even under the most gigantic superstructure of fables. We can believe, therefore, that Richard Deane in his boyhood may, like Sir William Penn and others, have acquired the rudiments of his destined profession in the humble situation of an apprentice to a shipmaster—the owner of a mercantile vessel belonging, *perhaps*, to Ipswich, and that the name of his master may have been “*Button*”—a name, from its vestimentary associations, sufficiently ridiculous and vulgar to have belonged to a “*skipper,*” and therefore a very convenient one to be cast in the face of a General at sea under the Commonwealth by his detractors under the Restoration.

But this merriment was not only ill-applied, but a proof of gross genealogical ignorance in those who used it, for “*BUTTON*” is, in truth, one of the most ancient of English family names, and was borne by knights and squires before half of our

present nobility, and some of them of the very highest rank, had emerged from their plebeian obscurity. For "one" Button may be seen, in cross-legged effigy, in *Bitton** church, Gloucestershire; and *Byton*, in Herefordshire, or *Bighton* in Hampshire, may have sent forth others; since "*Button*" is but a corruption of *Bitton* or *Biton*, and has nothing whatever to do with the fastenings of our garments, which, in the days of the Plantagenets, when the name first appears, were tied with "points" or strings, and were altogether innocent of any such contrivance as *buttons*!

But "*Bitton*" converted into *Button* is, after all, not so ludicrous as the parallel transformation of "*Mytton*" into "*Mutton*" in the person of Sir Robert Mytton, appointed Governor of Moissac by Sir John Chandos.† The name is so spelt by Barnes, in his life of that great warrior, and he cites for his authority "*The True Use of Armory.*"

The probability is, that the "*Button of Ipswich*" of 1625—1640 was, rather, the *Button of Harwich*, which was a Royal dockyard, and that he was a captain in the King's service. For there were at that time three well-known captains of that name

* This effigy was found in 1826, in the churchyard, and has been carefully preserved, in a chapel of the church, by the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe. The knight bears a heater shield charged with a fesse. A branch of this Button family was settled at Tockeham Court, Wilts, the head of which was advanced to a baronetcy in 1621. Sir Robert Button, the third baronet, died 1679. His sister was wife of *Clement Walker*, the author of "*The History of Independency.*" This tends to connect the Buttons with the Dissenting Interest, and helps to bring them closer to Richard Deane, an Independent. *Valeat quantum valet.*

† Johnes's Froissart, iii. 437.

in the Royal Navy, relations of the celebrated Sir Thomas Button of the "*Antelope*," who, April 5th, 1612, was appointed to command the expedition, fitted out under a Commission signed by Henry Prince of Wales, for the purpose of exploring a north-west passage to the Indies,* and thus became one of the early precursors of our Parrys and Franklins, and their bold and scientific successors, the heroes of the North Pole. Sir Thomas Button was also at the head of the Company of Merchant Adventurers, to whom we owe our first footing in India.

This Sir Thomas Button, we are further assured, was a kinsman of Oliver St. John, who was a near relation of the famous Parliamentary statesman of that name—a *cousin of Oliver Cromwell*.†

This brings the families of Button and Cromwell into such close affinity as to authorise (as we find it did) the carrying of the banner of Button in the funeral procession of *The Protector*; and, if Sir J. Prestwich‡ is correct in stating that the banner was that of Cromwell *impaling* Button, it follows that there must have been a marriage between these two families—that a Cromwell must have married a Button.

In the progress of this memoir I shall adduce reasons for believing that Richard Deane himself was in some way related to Cromwell. Supposing his affinity proved, the legend of "*One Button, a*

* Bruce's Index to the State Papers.

† Ibid. p. 309.

‡ "*Respublica*," see frontispiece.

hoyman of Ipswich,” may be resolved into the tradition of “One Button,” captain of a man-of-war, of Harwich, a connexion by marriage of Oliver Cromwell. What then more likely than that Richard Deane, a distant relation, should have made his first essay of the sea in a ship commanded by “One Button” (either Edward or William, both nephews of Sir Thomas Button, or Martin Button, a cousin) who was a captain in active service when Richard Deane was a boy? In this ship he may have risen to the rank of a “boatswain,” and thus one of the traditions of his education may be reconciled with probability.

That part of the tradition which represents him as having joined the Parliamentary Army as a matross of artillery in 1642 is so far supported, inasmuch as there is an antecedent probability that he would enter into that corps, for, among the “Eighteen Gentlemen of the Ordnance” in the list of the army of the Earl of Essex, we find the name of Edward *Wase*, which was the maiden name of Richard Deane’s mother.* Nothing more likely, therefore, than that he should have attached himself to that branch of the service in which a near relative was an officer, and especially if by a previous service on board of a man-of-war he had acquired the knowledge of working great guns.

Before, however, we proceed to investigate the real origin and family conditions of Richard Deane, it may be worth while to see what the enemies of

* See Pedigree, *infra*.

the cause in which he drew his sword said of him seven years after his death, when his services to his country were ignored in the recollection of his one unpardonable crime—the signature of his name to the death-warrant of the King.

1. “He was formerly,” says Heath,* “a hoyman’s servant; and, when the war broke out, was a matross in the train of artillery, from which he rose to a captain’s commission, and, being a cross fellow, was thought fit to be one of Cromwell’s complices to execute his plots against his sovereign.”

Such is the testimony of Heath, which would be more credible if the writer himself had not required testimonials to his own character, better than the following: “Heath was the son of the King’s cutler, a needy man, and wrote and corrected books for his maintenance. He is a writer of the meanest caste, on all accounts. His falsehood is only equalled by his low and scandalous scurrility.” † “Nothing that Heath says is worthy of credit, unless well corroborated by better testimony.” ‡

2. Heath is, however, equalled, if not surpassed, in scurrility by Winstanley, another *litterateur* of the Restoration, who says:

“He (Deane) was a fellow of mean origin, being first an hoyman’s servant at Ipswich, who at the beginning of the war, to raise his despicable fortunes, betook himself to the army, and was a matross of artillery,—a laborious post, and fitted for such a scoundrel.”

* Chronicle, p. 196.

† Noble’s Life of Cromwell.

‡ Arrest of the Five Members, Forster, p. 178.

3. Heath and Winstanley seem to have derived their information, such as it was, from Dr. George Bates, a physician, an "*Observer*," as he calls himself, "*of the Regicides*," who was originally in the service of Cromwell, and afterwards in that of Charles the Second, to whom he was, probably, recommended by his political tergiversation, as much as by his professional skill; for the book which he published in 1661 shows as much bitterness against his former party, as his liberal education and associations would permit.

In this little book (*libellus* in Latin, and *libellous* in English) he gives a somewhat circumstantial account of Richard Deane, which has the merit of being free from the scurrility of Heath and Winstanley, who have pilfered from him, and "improved" upon his ignorance.

"He was brought up by a hoyman belonging to the town of Ipswich, and, afterwards going to sea, was *boatswain* of a ship. But the wars coming on, he goes forth into the army, and there thrives in many successive employments, because a man of like principles with them who then had the dominion, viz. the Sectarian (which was the greatest) part of the army. When the King's death was contrived among them, this Colonel Deane was a very forward busie body to promote and countenance it. He was one of the High Court of *In-justice*; seals the warrant for the murther; and, with Harrison and Ireton, appoints the place of execution. After which he continued with the army and went into Scotland with Cromwell, when he conquered the covenanting professors, where he was a colonel of horse; and finally he was made one of the generals at sea, with Blake and Monk, in the fights which were made with the Dutch. But in the second fight with them, he, encouraging the seamen, was

shot in pieces with a cannon bullet, and all the remains of him which they could find were conveyed by water, in a solemn manner, to Westminster, and buried in the chapel of King Henry the Seventh."

From Dr. Bates's position in the Court of Cromwell, we may expect him to know something about a man so lately and so gloriously killed in battle, and so honourably buried at the expense of the nation. But from sundry inaccuracies in his account we must conclude that he had no personal knowledge of his subject, and that his report, in some points correct, is upon the whole not to be relied upon. Dr. Bates does not appear to have known the date or place of birth or parentage of Richard Deane; nor the name of the shipmaster of Ipswich to whom he is said to have been first apprenticed. But he confidently states that from this (mercantile) service he entered the Royal Navy; or, what is equivalent, that he "*went to sea*" and became a "*boatswain*." The "*hoy*" was a coasting trader—possibly from London to Ipswich; a *boatswain* was a warrant officer in the King's navy, appointed by the Lord High Admiral, or general at sea, who, when Richard Deane is said to have obtained the promotion, was the Earl of Northumberland. There is no proof of this appointment, so far as I can find, in the State Paper Office, which abounds in such nominations and confirmations. I cannot, therefore, give a *positive* denial to this tradition or report; but there are many letters in that collection in the handwriting

of Richard Deane, the style and orthography of which unmistakeably denote an education utterly incompatible with the legend of the "hoyman's servant" or the "common mariner." In correctness of spelling and clearness of expression these letters are greatly superior to the ordinary style of Cromwell, who had received an university education. At the time when Richard Deane is said to have joined the army as a matross of artillery, he was upwards of thirty years of age.* Up to this period we are expected to believe that he had been a common sailor, first on board of a hoy, and then of a man-of-war. What opportunities could he have had of learning to read and write under such circumstances, or of writing and expressing himself so well as we know he did? He could have had none. The inference, therefore, is that he had received a good education on land before he "went to sea;" and that he "went to sea" only, as he afterwards entered the army, as a volunteer, to qualify himself for higher commands by making himself familiar with the grammar of his art. For this was the usual fashion of the times. Young men of the best families often began their sea life as cabin boys, and not infrequently in merchant vessels, which were generally well armed for protection against the pirates, by whom the English Channel was much infested in those days. This was esteemed the best school of the navy, and in this were educated such men as Penn, Lawson,

* See next chapter.

Batten, and other scarcely less distinguished officers who commanded ships and fleets in the Dutch wars. In this sense, and in no other, can I believe that Richard Deane “grew from a common mariner to the reputation of a bold and excellent officer.”*

4. Clarendon, who says this of him, did not know him personally; but was too just and generous an adversary to give currency to any report which he knew to be false. The “*hoy*,” and the “*servitude*,” and the “*laborious post of a matross*,” are omitted as unworthy of belief or mention; and the historian limits himself to two facts—one of them traditional, and the other certain—that Richard Deane was originally a sailor before he became a soldier; and that in either capacity he was “a bold and excellent officer.”

5. After Clarendon, it may seem superfluous to cite any other authority, but there is one writer who, although anonymous, pretends to an intimate acquaintance with the personal history of the subject of this memoir. He was the author of a tract entitled “*Lives of the King Killers*,” published in 1719, to rouse the sluggish loyalty of the nation, after the Scotch insurrection of 1715. The friends of the revolutionary dynasty of the Guelfs thought that they should strengthen the Hanoverian cause by showing *how*, and by *whom*, the second Stuart had been brought to the block, forgetting that, in

* Clarendon, History of the Rebellion, iii. p. 38.

the eyes of half the kingdom, George the First was as much an usurper as Oliver Cromwell himself.

The life of Richard Deane is thus related and commented upon by the anonymous Royalist, who does not even know how to spell his name—

*Colonel Richard Dean,
Upstart Regicide.*

“ This fellow was not so well born as the above (Bourchier, Scrope, Carew, and Corbet), but inferior to none in villainy. The first that is known of him is, that he was a hoyman’s servant at Ipswich, but, misliking that poor employment, at the very beginning of the rebellion, and having a wicked inclination, he took to the Parliament service, and was made a matross of artillery, a laborious post and fit for such a scoundrel. But, being bold and wicked enough, he succeeded by degrees to the quality of captain in the train, having been first taken notice of at the siege of Exeter. Having gotten some experience towards sea affairs while he belonged to the hoy, he took to serve aboard the fleet, and thus, in a double capacity, by sea and land, arrived to be an admiral and a colonel. Being as void of honesty as he was full of brutal courage, he was pitched upon to be one of the King’s murderers,” &c.

The writer of the above borrowed some of his “ information ” from Winstanley and the rest from Sprigge,* the latter of whom mentions Captain Deane’s first distinction in the army of Sir Thomas Fairfax, at the siege and storming of Sherbourne Castle, and again at the remarkable defence of Powderham Church, six miles below Exeter, at the estuary of the river Exe, which the ignorant scrib-

* *Anglia Rediviva*, pp. 87, 159.

bler confounds with the siege of the city of Exeter, then in progress.

6. A more respectable authority—the generally well-informed Granger—adds the name of the owner of the hoy in which Richard Deane is said to have served his first apprenticeship, and states that his father also had been in the same service before him. He calls the name of the hoyman “*One Button of Ipswich.*” Granger gives no references, because, probably, he had taken his “facts” from some anonymous pamphleteer or newspaper of the Restoration, but the story has gained something under his hands. With a mass of fable, it has picked up some grains of truth, among which we may reckon the name of the captain under whom the boy Richard first “went to sea.”

I shall prove, in the next chapter, that neither he nor his father had any connection with Ipswich, and that the whole story of the hoy and the hoyman is a myth, and that of the *matross* a perversion of the truth, whereby a gentleman volunteer is converted into an enlisted common soldier. But there are some circumstances mentioned by Dr. Bates which are matters of history. The intimacy of Colonel Deane with Oliver Cromwell, and his complicity with him in all his proceedings against the King, cannot be denied. “When the King’s death was contrived, this Colonel Deane was a very forward busie body to promote and countenance it,” is the declaration of Bates, and is borne out by Whitelocke and Rushworth, and the history of the King’s trial.

Had Richard Deane done nothing else, he might have been charitably left to the oblivion of his obscurity, like the majority of the King's judges, whose signature of the death-warrant was their only title to fame. But he was not a nameless and deedless regicide. He was deeply engaged in the restoration of peace and order after the confusions of the two Civil Wars; and, when the Dutch war broke out, he gave not only his services, but also his life, to his country, and that at a time when no lesser sacrifices would have sufficed. It was, therefore, not without a warrant that the writer of his epitaph wound up the catalogue of his claims with the testimony—

Carissimus omnibus, præsertim suis;
 Sed omnes omnium caritates
 Uni Reipublicæ
 Postposuit :*
 Hoc piæ magis memoriæ,
 Quod Patriæ victimâ victrici Morte carituræ
 Vita ejus desideraretur.

* Omnes omnium caritates, Patria una complexa est.—*Cicero de Officiis*, i. 17.

CHAPTER II.

RICHARD DEANE—HIS FAMILY AND ORIGIN.

I. The persistence of the tradition of the "Ipswich hoy," in which Richard Deane was said to have served his first apprenticeship to the sea, seemed to me so remarkable, that I could not rest satisfied until I had consulted some one well versed in the history and records of that town, for a corroboration or refutation of the story. Such a person appeared in the late Mr. Fitch, who kindly sent me the following reply to my inquiries:—

"Some years ago I took great pains to ascertain what connection Richard Deane had with this town, and I could not find his name in any of the corporation books or accounts. If he was born here, his name would be in the register; and if he lived here, it would have been in the accounts."*

Mr. Fitch concluded from these omissions that "Richard Deane, the Regicide," was neither born, nor apprenticed, nor resident at Ipswich—a conclusion which I was afterwards enabled to confirm, by the accidental discovery of a manuscript epitaph in the British Museum,† which directed me to the county and place of his birth. The commencement of the epitaph was as follows:—

* Ipswich, October 26, 1846.

† Additional MSS. 4022.

Siste Viator.

Suspice RICARDI DEANE quod reliquum est.

Oritur ubi *Isis* in agro *Glocestriensi*, *Cotswolli* montibus,

Moritur ubi *Tamesis* in Freto Britannico,

Quo in fonte natus, *eodem* in *fluvio*

Denatus est.

Following this clue, I examined the registers of above forty parishes of the Cotswold district, and was rewarded by the discovery of the required baptismal register, in the parish church of Guyting Poher, or Lower Guyting, near Winchcombe.

1610. Anno Dni 1610

y^e viii daie of Julie was baptized

Richard Deene y^e sonne of

Edward Deene.

The name of Richard Deane's mother is not mentioned in the register, but I found it afterwards in a pedigree, hereafter set forth, to be *Anne Wass*. She was the second wife of Edward Deane, and Richard was their eldest child.

It will be remarked that the name in the above extract from the register is spelt with two *ees*, instead of *ea*; which in a name less susceptible of variation might impugn the identity of the person who in every other record is Richard Deane.

But when we find in this very register book the same name spelt *nine* different ways, the objection vanishes. For we find *Deane*, *Deene*, *Deine*, *Dean*, *A' Deane*, *Adeane*, *aDayne*, *Adeyne*, and *Adeine*, all designating members of the same family! The very father of Richard is indifferently called (Edward)

Deine, Adayne, Adeane, and Deane! So that, as far as the mere spelling is to be regarded, there is no difficulty in the identification of Richard *Deane* and Richard *Deene*.

As this was the only *Richard Deene* to be found in the forty registers searched, and as one of the sources of the Isis is in the adjoining parish of Temple Guyting, and the rivulet *Windrush*, which it supplies, flows through Guyting Poher, there seemed to be no doubt that in Guyting Poher I had discovered the birthplace of "Richard Deane, the Regicide."

But it may be said that the *Windrush* does not rise in Guyting Poher, and the expression "*Oritur ubi Isis*" may be only figurative? By a singular coincidence I am enabled to prove that this poetical expression is literally true! For the family of Deane, although always baptised and buried in Guyting *Poher*, were actually resident at *Farmcot*, in the parish of *Temple Guyting*, in which the source of the *Windrush*, or *Isis*, is to be found. They lived at the "Woodhouse," in the hamlet of *Farmcot*, which being only half a mile from Guyting *Poher* church, and above a mile and half from *Temple Guyting*, was the cause of their adopting the former as their family church. "*Oritur ubi Isis*" is, therefore, strictly accurate.

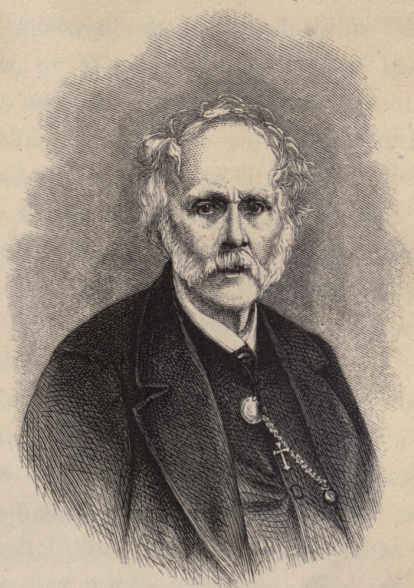
But there is one *desideratum* in the epitaph, and that a very important one. No mention is made of the *age* of Richard Deane at the time of his death, and therefore no just inference can be drawn

from it as to the date of his birth. These two *Richards* may, after all, be different persons !

By another curious and singular coincidence I am enabled to remove this doubt also, by reference to another document in the library of the British Museum, viz. a woodcut engraving of the funeral car of Admiral Richard Deane. This engraving (of which there is a duplicate in the Bodleian) is at the head of an elegy, printed on the occasion of the public funeral of "The General at Sea," in June 1653, and bears the date *ætatis suæ* 42, which expresses, with sufficient funereal accuracy, the age of the "Richard Deane" who was baptised at Guyting Poher, July 8, 1610, and who had passed his forty-second, but had not completed his forty-third, year on the 2nd of June, 1653, the day on which he fell. There remains therefore no reasonable doubt of the identity, and the story of the "hoyman-born" child "of Ipswich" is reduced to the penultimate point of evanescence.

II. From the WILL* of Admiral-General Deane, proved by his widow in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, in January 165 $\frac{3}{4}$, it appears that his mother's Christian name was *Anne*, and that he left a surviving sister *Jane*. Both these names are recognised as belonging to the mother and sister of "Richard, the son of Edward Deane," in a document, accompanied by a pedigree, which was presented to the electors of Winchester College in

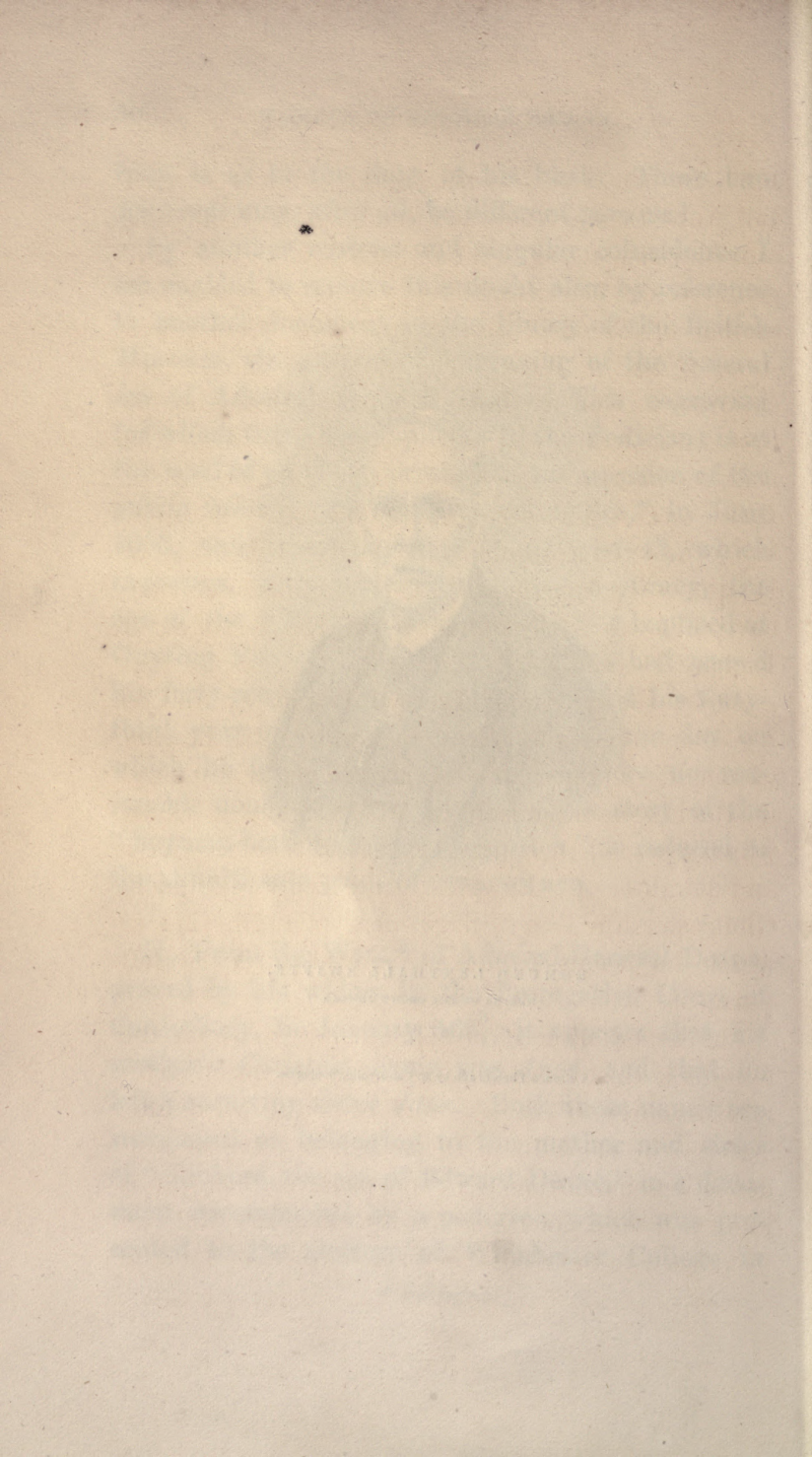
* See *infra*.



EDMUND LENTHALL SWIFTE,
KEEPER OF THE CROWN JEWELS.

ÆT 91.

From a Photograph by L. Caudeville, Boulogne.



1634, in behalf of *Joseph*, another son of Edward and Anne Deane, who was a candidate for admission into the school, as a Founder's kin. From this pedigree we learn that the wife of *Edward*, and mother of *Richard*, *Joseph*, and *Jane* Deane, was *Anne Wass*, or *Wase*. The names of their other children, as well as those of Edward Deane by his first wife, Joan Colet, are the same, both in the pedigree and the registers of Guyting Poher. Both *Colet* and *Wase* were Buckinghamshire families, and connected (especially the latter) with that of HAMPDEN by marriage.* This circumstance may have had no little influence on the fortunes of Richard Deane.

Anne, the widow of Edward Deane, as well as her daughter Jane, then the wife of a London merchant of the name of Monteage, was buried in Buckingham church in 1670,† and the tablet which recorded their burial speaks of them as widow and daughter of "Edward Deane, Esq. of Pinnock, Gloucestershire," a village near the Guyting to which he seems to have removed after he left Farmcot.

The grandfather of Joseph, through whom the founder's kinship was claimed, was Margaret, sister of Humphrey *Wykeham* or *Wickham* of Swalcliffe, Oxon., wife of William Deane, whose place of residence is not mentioned in the pedigree, but who is known, from a document in the Chancery Rolls of Elizabeth, to have possessed some freehold land in

* Visitation of Bucks, 1575 and 1634. † Lipscomb's History of Bucks.

Temple Guyting, which, in conjunction with his wife, he sold to Corpus Christi College, Oxford. From her joining in the conveyance it is probable that the property in question came to her husband through her. She was buried at Guyting Poher in 1602.*

The story of the claim to the founder's kinship by Joseph Deane, and its rejection, through the intrigues of the Fiennes family, is told, at length, by C. Wykeham Martin, Esq., M.P., in Mr. Gough Nichols's valuable "*Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*" and "*The Herald and Genealogist*," in which the pedigree of the Deanes of Guyting is set forth, and their descent from a great-nephew of Bishop William of Wickham proved. Mr. Wykeham Martin shows, also, that William of Wickham was not so named from the village near Winchester, but from Wickham in Swalcliffe, Oxon.

It appears that the Wickhams of Swalcliffe had been acknowledged as of kin to William of Wickham in 1547, when Humphrey Wickham, then sixteen years of age, was admitted into Winchester College as an ordinary scholar, not on the foundation, but designated "*Consanguineus Fundatoris*." He did not then claim the privilege of a free education, being probably able to pay for his schooling and commons, and not coming under the description of a "poor scholar." But nine years afterwards he made an application, as "Founder's kin," for a Fellowship at New College, Oxford, and was

* See Register.

strenuously opposed by Sir Richard Fiennes, who wished to keep this privilege in his own family, who were also collaterally descended from the founder. The six electors were divided *three* against *three*, and the claim was referred to the College of Arms in London, who confirmed the pedigree of Humphrey Wickham, and adjudged him the arms of the Bishop as an hereditary right; but, strangely enough, declined to give an opinion as to his right to the fellowship. Fourteen years afterwards Sir Richard Fiennes, having prevailed thus far, tried to push his own family claims a little farther by demanding the arms also of William of Wickham.* The Heralds, however, dismissed this petition, and again adjudged the arms to the family of Wickham of Swalcliffe.

In 1634 Edward Wickham of Swalcliffe, and William Wickham of Abingdon, the great-uncle and uncle of Joseph Deane, put in a claim for the Founder's kinship at Winchester for their relative whom they described as "*a poor scholar of their own blood,*" and in support of it presented a certificate of arms from the Heralds' College. The claim was opposed by Lord Saye, a descendant of the above Sir Thomas Fiennes, who was equally successful in resisting it. The Wickhams thereupon petitioned the King, Charles the First, for redress, and in their petition cited the case of their ancestor Humphrey, as dealt with in 1547, 1556, and 1570, and insisted that they had the prior claim

* As inherited by the Perrots, from whom the Fiennes were descended.

to kinship with the Founder of Winchester and New College, inasmuch as they were descended from the brother, whereas the Fienneses were descended from the sister of William of Wickham. The King referred the matter to three commissioners, Archbishop Laud, the Earl Marshal, and the Bishop of Winchester, but nothing came of it, or, if anything, the decision was again in favour of the more influential party, for the name of Joseph Deane does not appear in the books of Winchester College. The next time that I find it, is as a cornet in a regimental roll of horse in the service of the Commonwealth; and some time afterwards as commanding an army in Ireland, and succeeded in his command by Monk. He settled in Ireland and married, and became ancestor of the Deanes of Torrinnure, now Deane-Freeman, a family which produced several dignitaries of the law in Ireland in the last century.

It is a curious coincidence—if nothing more—that the Fiennes who defeated the claim of Joseph Deane was the father of Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, condemned to “death” by a court martial, in 1643, for surrendering Bristol to the Royalists. He was charged with “cowardice,” and one of the principal witnesses for the prosecution was a *William Deane*, who deposed to “*contradictory orders*,” and “*pale looks*,” and a general opinion among both the soldiers and civilians in the garrison that the “*city had been betrayed*.” Colonel Fiennes’s sentence was commuted to dismissal from the service; but

no thanks to William Deane for this mitigation of the judgment of the court martial, which arose solely out of the compassionate sympathy of the Earl of Essex, who shrunk from thus ignominiously spilling noble blood. Is it too illiberal to conjecture that this hostile witness was the uncle of Joseph Deane—the *William Deane*, whose name appears in the family pedigree, and whose opinion of his commanding officer was affected by the injustice which that officer's father had inflicted upon the deponent's nephew? Such cases of revenge are happily rare, but not altogether unknown, in family annals. If the witness *William Deane* was indeed the uncle of *Joseph*, his evidence against a Fiennes should have been carefully sifted.

At the candidature of Joseph Deane for the Founder's kinship, a copy of his baptismal register was produced, attested by two witnesses—"Richard Deane, *senior*," and "Richard Deane, *junior*." The latter of these was, doubtless, his brother, the subject of this memoir, who was then twenty-four years of age; the former may have been his uncle Richard, his father's brother, or possibly his great-uncle (?), Sir Richard Deane, Knight, Alderman, and formerly Lord Mayor of London, who was alive at that time, not dying until the middle of the next year, 1635.

III. The intermarriages of the Wickhams, Hampdens, Wases, and Deanes, will appear in the following pedigrees:—

I. WICKHAM OF SWALCLIFFE AND DEANE OF GUYTING.

AUTHORITIES : Lipscomb's Bucks; Visitations of Bucks; Registers of Guyting Poyer; Genealogy of the Swiftes.

Richard de Wykeham, circa 1275. — Anne —
Arms : 2 chevrons between 3 roses.

Sir Robert de Wykeham, changed the family arms into — Elizabeth, dau. of Sir John de Lisures.
Ermine, a bordure engrailed charged with 6 mullets,
or. Roll of Knights, 8 Edw. II.

Thomas de Wykeham. — Katharine —

Thomas de Wykeham, of Woodstock. — Eliz. dau. of William D'Oyly.

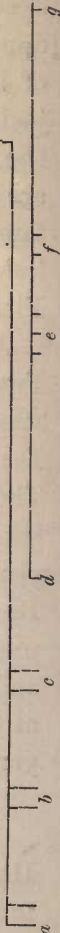
Thomas Wykeham of Swalcliffe. — Agnes —
Roll of Gentry, Oxon. Hen. VI.
ob. 1464, w.p. 1465.

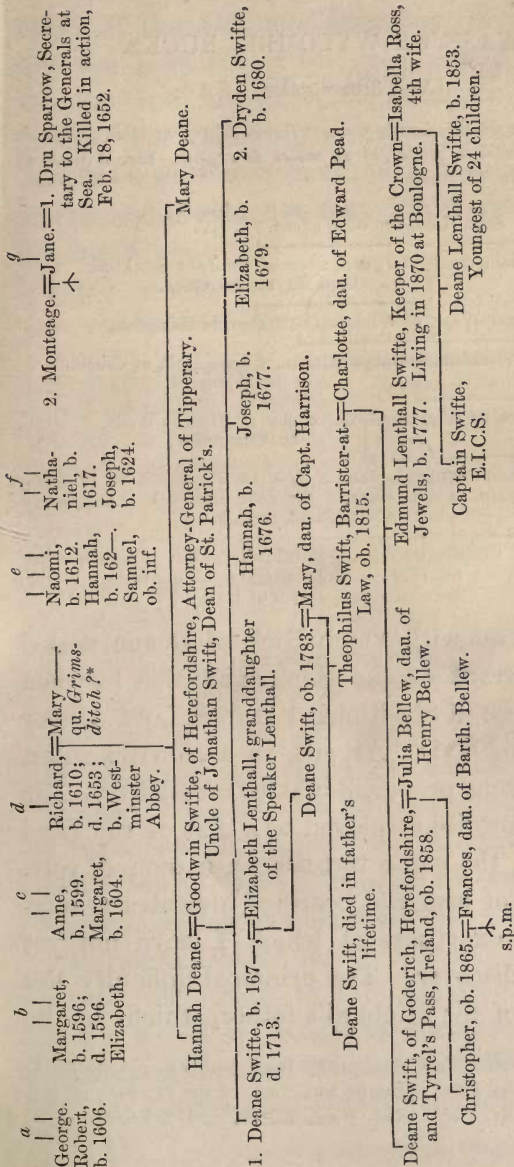
John Wykeham. — Alice Lidyard of Glympton, Oxon.

Edward Wykham of Swalcliffe. — Isabel, dau. of Giles Poulton of Northamptonshire.

Humphrey Wickham, — Anne, dau. of Edward Under- William Wickham, of Margaret Wickham, — William Deane, of
of Swalcliffe. — Holt, of Northamptonshire. Abingdon, Berks. d. at Guyting Poyer, Guyting, Glouc.
Direct ancestor of Miss Wickham, created Baroness Wenman by William IV. Richard. Bartholomew. of Pinnock, Chancery Rolls
1670; b. at Bucking- Eliz.

John Deane. Anthony, grandfather of Sir William. Richard. I. Joan Colet, — Edward Deane, — 2. Anne Wass, or Wase, of Bucks. m. 1609; d.
Commissioner of the Navy, Chief of Pinnock, Glouc., Esq. ham.
temp. Car. II. Jac. II.



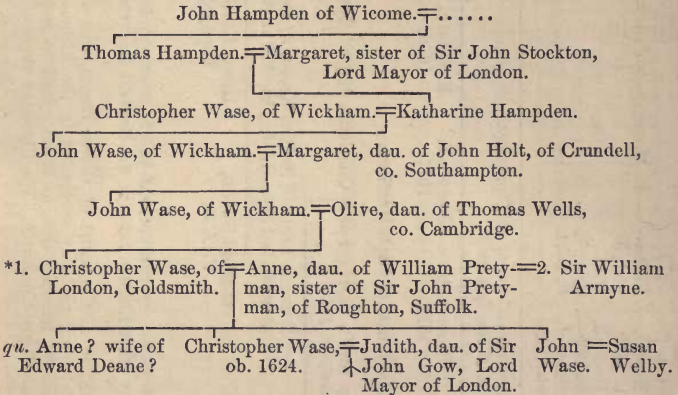


* On the hearse of General Deane was a shield of arms, *A griffin segreant, over a knight prostrate in dexter base*, which are the arms of Grimsdiche of Cheshire, and were never borne by any other English family; qu. General Deane's wife? They certainly did not belong to his mother *Wase*, or grandmother *Wickham*.
 N.B.—The Registers of Guyting Pober contain frequent mention of the name of *Oliver* Deane, who was curate of that parish until 1625, after which he appears as "Mr. Deane, *Minister*," having probably succeeded to the incumbency in the meantime, although his name is omitted by Atkyns from his List of Vicars. I mention this, as it may lead to the discovery of the exact connection (if connection there was) between Richard Deane and *Oliver* Cromwell. The Christian name of *Oliver* borne by a near relation of the Regicide is, at least, remarkable.

II. WASE OF WYCOMBE, BUCKS.

Arg. 3 bars gules.

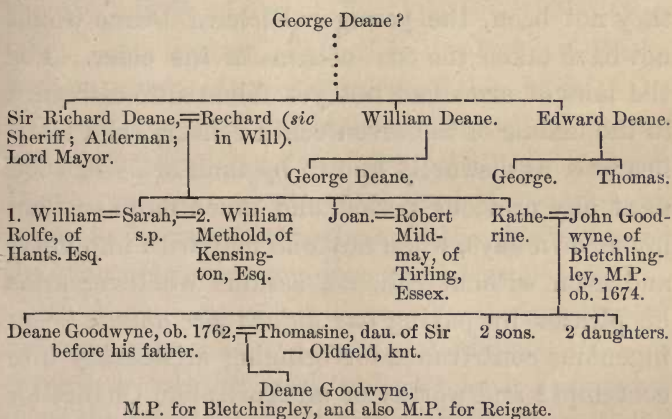
The ancient arms of this family were, "*Barré de argent et de goules, de 6 pieces, a un quartier de goules, et un molet de argent.*" Sire William de Wasse. Roll, 8 Edw. II. Bucks.



IV. The arms with which Richard Deane sealed the death-warrant of the King, and also his own will, were those of Sir Richard Deane, Lord Mayor of London 1629, viz. Argent, on a chevron gules, between 3 ravens proper, 3 crosses crosslet *or*. His crest was a tortoise displayed *or*; that of the Lord Mayor being the same tortoise on a mound vert. This identity of armorial bearings indicates a relationship, the exactness of which I have not yet been able to discover. The principal difficulty lies in the name of Sir Richard's father, which, in the

* Of this "Christopher Wase, Goldsmith," Payne Fisher remarks ("Tombs in London before the Fire") that he was "one of the ancestors of that eminently learned Mr. Christopher Wase, S.T.B., and Schoolmaster of Tunbridge."

books of the Skinners' Company, to which fraternity the Lord Mayor belonged, is said to have been *George*, and his place of residence Dunmow in Essex. The following pedigree, deduced from Sir Richard's will* and continued from authentic registers and documents, may throw some light upon his family :—



It will be seen, by comparing the above with the pedigree of Richard Deane the Admiral, that *Richard*, *William*, and *Edward* appear as brothers in both, and that *Edward* the father of the Admiral had a son *George*—the name of one of the Lord Mayor's nephews in his will.

It might, therefore, be inferred that the Lord Mayor was uncle to the Admiral—a conclusion which would approach to certainty if the Lord Mayor's father had been named *William* and not *George*. Supposing that there was no mistake in

* See note at the end of the Chapter.

the register of the Skinners' Company, we may conclude that Sir Richard Deane was not uncle, but great-uncle to Richard the Admiral, belonging to the generation preceding, which would be in accordance with his age, which at the time of his death, in 1635, is said to have been far advanced. That they were related I have no doubt, for, had they not been, the younger Richard Deane would not have taken the coat-of-arms of the elder. For the laws of arms had not yet fallen into disregard in the middle of the seventeenth century, and families were as distinctly known by their arms in 1650 as at any previous period, and much more so than in our own days, when any one may with impunity, and even without ridicule, assume whatever arms he pleases by paying *one guinea per annum!*—an ingenious contrivance for bringing aristocracy into contempt* and worthy of an Australian Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The three daughters of Sir Richard Deane married into three of the most decidedly Republican families of the time—*Rolfe*, *Mildmay*, and *Goodwin*—a connection which may have had some influence upon Richard Deane the younger in selecting his political party. The Lord Mayor was unquestionably a Puri-

* An ordinance was passed by both Houses March 10, 1646, for "settling and regulating the Heralds' Office," to effect which, says Whitelocke, "I laboured, and was one of the Commissioners, but opposed by many inclining to levelling." (197) For "many" I would read "some," for the House of Commons of that date was not so vulgarly democratic as to ignore the "gentleman." It is not in the nature of Englishmen to do so. Even their Republican offspring in America cling fondly to such aristocratic reminiscences as are afforded by the recognition of family arms.

tan : an alarming party riot occurred at his election to the mayoralty, and the existing Lord Mayor and Aldermen were called to an account for it by the King;* and on more than one occasion during the mayoralty of Sir Richard Deane there were quarrels between the courtiers and the citizens, and once with great loss of life,† when the serjeant-major of the Trained Bands was killed, and two “Rhé Captains,” one of them attached to the Duke of Buckingham, executed as ringleaders of the rioters. On this occasion the Lord Mayor was knighted for his gallantry in putting down the riots. Sir Richard Deane, moreover, was the first Lord Mayor who put a stop to Sunday trading‡—a further indication of the strictness of his religious principles.

His three sons-in-law bore names suggestive of the same principles and party. A Major *Rolfe* was suspected and charged (falsely) with practising upon the King’s life, at Carisbrook Castle; a Mildmay sat in the “High Court of Justice;” and two Goodwins were among the most famous preachers of the Parliament, and John Goodwin, Sir Richard’s son-in-law, was one of the most prominent members of the Long Parliament—all of which circumstances are collateral proofs of the Puritanism of the Lord Mayor. Added to these is the remarkable letter written by the Earl Marshal on the 16th July, 1635, to the then Lord Mayor, calling his attention to a report that the executors of Sir Richard Deane—then lately deceased—intended to bury him “in

* S. P. O. † Whitelocke’s Memorials, &c., see preceding chapter.

‡ Maitland’s History of London, Anno 1629.

a private manner very unsuitable to his dignity and eminent quality of a chief magistrate of the City," and reminding the Lord Mayor that such private interments were not only "contrary to custom" but also "contrary to the King's pleasure, as declared by the Proclamation against all nocturnal funerals whatever."*

This letter was levelled at the Puritans, who looked upon the customary displays of heraldic pomp at funerals as savouring too much of worldly vanity and Popery, and were therefore, whenever it was possible, evaded by private burials. Such was the intention of John Goodwin, Sir Richard Deane's executor, and his "overseers" William Rolfe and Robert Mildmay. The Earl Marshal's letter prevented their purpose, but could not prevent them from carrying the body, as they did, into Essex for interment.

V. Although there is as yet no *proof* that Richard Deane the younger had been patronised by Sir Richard, yet such a circumstance is highly probable, for a younger son of a large family, coming up from a remote country village to London, would naturally look for and seek the countenance of a City magnate—his uncle, or great-uncle—who was already an alderman, and looking forward, at no very distant time, to the chair of chief magistrate. I cannot but believe that such an introduction was sought for by the boy Richard Deane, and the desired assistance cheerfully supplied by

* See note at the end of the chapter.

the "Alderman and Skinner" of London. Such a supposition would easily account for his first step in life—an apprenticeship (?) to the master of a vessel in the coasting trade between London and Ipswich, preparatory to his entering the Royal Navy.

Richard Deane was baptized in the Church of England, but his Buckinghamshire connexions soon taught him to look with suspicion upon that Church as the handmaid to Popery. Not only his paternal but also his maternal relations drew him towards the Puritanical, which was then considered the patriotic, party. The Wases and Wickhams connected him with the name and cause of the Hampdens, who were the centre to which nearly all the other families of the county gravitated; and not only they, but many others besides. Both Cromwell and his wife, Elizabeth Bourchier, were related to John Hampden: he was, we know, a cousin, and his wife, according to Heath—who in this instance has no motive for misrepresentation—"was a kinswoman of both Hampden *and* *Master Goodwin.*"* So that the family circle in which Richard Deane revolved will, independently of his own predilections, amply account for his adoption of the popular cause.

VI.—OLIVER CROMWELL has been generally considered the life and soul of the Great Rebellion; but it has not, so far as I am aware, been remarked that the chief instruments of his work were, for the

* Chron. p. 60; also "Life of Cromwell."

most part, selected from his own family connexions in the county of Buckingham. This is a very curious feature of the great movement of 1641, and calculated to exercise thought in the thoughtful.

Buckinghamshire was covered with a network of families so closely united by intermarriages and common interests, that "*one and all*," the motto of clannish Cornwall, might with equal propriety have been assumed by the county of Buckingham. The harsh treatment of their Member, John Hampden, by the Court, sunk so deeply into the breasts of his constituents, that the first threatening movement against the King commenced with them. This, according to Vicars,* occurred January 11, 164 $\frac{1}{2}$, when "There came a numerous multitude of *Buckinghamshire* men, both gentlemen and others, on horseback, in very fair and orderly manner, with the PROTESTATION in their hats and hands, partly in behalf of the most worthy Knight of this Shire in Parliament, but especially to petition the Parliament for the reformation of evils in Church and State; the just punishment of delinquents; the timely relief of Ireland; the sweet and harmonious concurrence of both Houses against all sinister obstructions; and the expulsion of Prelates and Popish Lords out of Parliament."

Similar processions of petitioners followed out of Essex, Hertfordshire, Berkshire, Kent, and other counties; but Buckinghamshire had taken

* "*Jehovah Jireh*," p. 69.

the lead and kept it. The small size of the county prevented it from sending such large forces as other counties to the aid of THE CAUSE; but in proportion to its extent, or rather beyond proportion to it, Buckinghamshire sent more "Gentlemen" into the field for "King and Parliament." They rallied round John Hampden as their chief, and such was their earnestness of zeal and perseverance, that nearly one-third of the High Court of Justice, who set their hands and seals to the Death-Warrant of the King, were either of this small county, or closely connected with it. They were, for the most part, relations of Hampden, or allied to him by marriage; and those of his friends who were not Buckinghamshire men, were of the adjoining counties of Oxford and Berks. The following names will bear out this remark, viz., *George Fleetwood, Richard Ingoldesby, Simon Mayne, Edmund Waller* of Beaconsfield, *Robert Waller* (Hampden's son-in-law), *Thomas Chaloner, Peter Temple, James Temple, Edward Whalley, J. Bouchier, John Desborough, John Jones, Valentine Wauton*, all of Buckinghamshire. To which may be added the family connections, near or remote, of John Hampden, viz., *Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, John Hutchinson, Richard Deane*. Berkshire supplied *Daniel Blagrove* and *Henry Marten*. These were all regicides. To these adhered, as "consenting to the King's death," *Lenthall*, the speaker of the Long Parliament, an Oxfordshire man, and *John Milton*, who, although

a Londoner born, selected Buckinghamshire as his place of residence; and the "two *Goodwins*," who were related to the Fleetwoods and Hampdens. This is a singular and suggestive fact, showing what a vast amount of the power of disturbance even a single family, closely united in a common object, may possess in times of popular restlessness and a weak Government. No minority is so small as to be insignificant for mischief, provided only it has some plausible grounds of complaint, and some fixed principles of action, and is united and persevering. Such was the family of John Hampden and their friends, who overthrew the Government of King Charles the First.

Oliver Cromwell knew the value of a family alliance so well, that he selected his chief supporters from his own kindred and connections. Walker, in his *History of Independency*, charges him with filling most of the chief offices in the army with his own kindred, allies, and friends; and adds, "of whose numerous family, Lieut.-Col. John Lilburne gives a list in one of his books."* Mrs. Hutchinson † dwells upon the same fact in some of her strongest language: "And while as yet Fairfax stood an empty name, Cromwell was moulding the army to his own mind, weeding out the godly and upright-hearted, both officers and men, and filling up their room with rascally turn-coat Cavaliers" (*e.g. Monk*), "and pitiful sottish

* Page 6; I have not met with this book.

† Mrs. Hutchinson's *Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, 302.

beasts" (*e.g. Desborough*) "of his own alliance." We may, therefore, reasonably conclude that personal friends and relations made up a considerable portion of the staff of Oliver Cromwell; and they fully served his purpose. •

If, as I have supposed, there was any family connection, however remote, between Oliver Cromwell and Richard Deane, through the Buckinghamshire connection of each—(and John Hampden, it may be remarked, had for his second wife a daughter of Tanfield Vachell, M.P. for Reading, whose other daughter married a *William Deane*.)—there was a very sufficient reason why the obscure volunteer of artillery of 1642 should be the Comptroller of the Ordnance in 1645; and the Comptroller of 1645-7 should become the Major-General of 1648, and "The General at Sea" of 1649. For merit alone could hardly have achieved such rapid promotion, when the claims of so many other meritorious men were to be considered. There is no microscope so powerful in disclosing the merits of a man, as that which is placed in the hands of a strong-sighted friend or relation. The family connections of Richard Deane were a *recommendation* to Cromwell, his merits a *sanction*, and his personal devotion to the Lord General a *reason* for his promotion—the combined force of which is intelligible to any one who knows anything of human nature.

The remarkable devotion of Richard Deane to CROMWELL is attested by the two authors of the

“*Elegiack Memorials,*” published at the time of his death. One of them, signing himself Th. Tw. Δεανόφιλος, declares—

The swelling seas and crossing tides can't part
 Brave Deane from him for whom he kept his heart.
 Let others chase the pirates, he on shore
 Must serve his *General* 'till the wars give o'er.

The other elegiast, “*J. R. Merchant,*” apostrophizing the departed spirit of his hero, exclaims—

“Thou might'st have lived, had not the life that gave
 Life to thy life, sent thee now to thy grave;”

meaning Oliver Cromwell, to whom Richard Deane owed his promotions.

We shall see in the sequel how intimately he was admitted into the counsels of Cromwell, and how zealously and effectually he repaid the confidence.

VII. The origin of Richard Deane, irrespective of his family connections in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, was comparatively obscure.

“A princely soul he had *though country-born,*” says his panegyrist. The meaning of which is, that his birth and breeding were not such as to entitle him to expect any particular distinction in life at a time when the aristocratical element was so strong at Court that even rustic nobility found it hard to make its way against its influences. Not being born or brought up within the precincts of Whitehall, he had nothing, in the first instance, to depend upon but his own exertions. A “country-born”

must be a "self-made" man. The want of Court patronage must be compensated by a strong intellect, a stout heart, and honest industry—and these were the only inheritance of RICHARD DEANE.

For his private character we should not ordinarily go to the writer of his epitaph, or his elegiac panegyrist; and yet they have both so well expressed what he might have been to those who knew him that the testimony of neither is to be rejected:—

"Religio erat, in Sacris nec cogere nec cogi,
Hæc aurea libertas,"

is the character of a truly liberal man, who respects the rights of conscience in others.

Severitatem militaris disciplinæ
Humanitate domesticâ
diminuit,

describes a Christian soldier, who carries the household virtues into the camp.

The witness who gives this testimony may have been partial; but if his evidence had been notoriously false or greatly exaggerated, we should have found others to contradict it. But it is a singular fact, that, of all the conspicuous men of his party, Richard Deane is the one least defamed by his contemporaries and opponents. In such times this is much to say for such a man. His only defamers were Royalists of the Restoration.

If his private character and conduct did in any degree justify the opinions of one friend, we may the more readily admit the praises of another—than

which I have seldom read a more noble tribute to worth :—

An humble soul hid in a stern aspect,
 A perfect friendship in supposed neglect,
 A learned head without the boast of books,
 A devout heart without affected looks.
 His chief perfection did in practice lie,
 Religion lock'd up in sincerity.

Such was the attested character of a man whom the times in which he lived delighted to honour, and of whom posterity has but one fault or crime to record, and even that has found its apologists and even approvers, who recognise in the blood of the “Great Rebellion” the fertiliser of the soil of the “Glorious Revolution;” and who maintain that, but for the judicial execution of King Charles, we should never have received the Constitution of King William, nor enjoyed the freedom and happiness of the reign of Queen Victoria. REGICIDE, abstractedly considered, is PARRICIDE; but we who are living in the latter part of the nineteenth century, under a well-defined constitutional Government, under which both the act and the actions which led to regicide are alike impossible, are not qualified to justify or condemn either, irrespectively of the age in which they were enacted. We must not condemn the spirit of the age without taking into account the despotism which produced it, or the tyranny which excused its excesses. “The cause for which Hampden died,” and which Milton defended, must have recommended itself to many

thoughtful and religious men, of whose convictions and motives we can form but a faint conception. They acted according to their own lights, but to them those lights were as the sun in brightness. Neither may we denounce the tyranny of the Government of which we know not the difficulties and provocations. Charles the First was a despot by inheritance, but not a tyrant by nature. Into almost every harshness of which he has been accused he was driven by the unreasonable violence of self-seeking and ambitious men, who, to promote their own ends, were ready to imperil or sacrifice both Throne and Altar; and men of this stamp were on "both sides of the House:" "*ruat cælum, fiat—voluntas mea!*" was as much the moving principle of Pym as of Strafford, who were equally tyrants in grain. "Patriotism" had not, indeed, then become what it was in the days of Johnson—or our own, "*the last refuge of a scoundrel.*" But there were many "scoundrels" in the days of Laud and Hampden, who, but for the assumption of "patriotism," might have starved. "Liberty" is a grand idea, and a fine word, but if it be "used as a cloak of maliciousness" is in danger of ending in slavery of the worst kind—that of the virtuous and intelligent to a mob, or of a nation to a House of Commons.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II.

A.—The Will of Sir Richard Deane, proved 18th July, 1635, contains the following bequests:—

To my wife Recharde Deane, my coach and horses and £30 for mourning. My executors to pay her £1,000 which I am bound by covenant, and £40 per annum for life.

To my godson and grandchild Deane Goodwyn the remainder of my lease at St. Michael le Querne, after the decease of my wife Recharde Deane.

To my daughter Sarah Rolfe £800, and to my son William Rolfe, Esq., £20 for mourning.

To my daughter Katherine Goodwyn £800, to make her portion equal to her sister Rolfe.

To Thomas Deane, son of my late brother Edward Deane, £40.

To my son Robert Mildmay and his Company £20 for their blacks.

To my cousin George Deane £15.

To my cousin Edward Deane £5.

To Thomas, son of William Deane, £5.

To my cousin Frances, wife of Henry Barnett, £5.

To Grace Maye £5, to Elizabeth Walton £20, to Jane Walton £10.

To my cousin Anne Collins £10.

To my cousin Mary Deane £40.

To the poor of Dunmow in Essex, where I was born, £10.

To Katherine, wife of William Hamer, £10.

To Mary Abbot £5.

To my daughter Jane Mildmay the great gilt Standing Cup.

To my daughter Sarah Rolfe my old gilt Bible.

John Goodwyn, Esq., to be sole executor, and Robert Mildmay and William Rolfe, Esquires, to be overseers of this my Will.

B.—A letter from y^e Earle Marshall to y^e Lord Mayor, touching y^e buriall of S^r Richard Deane, and against nocturnall burialls.

My verie good Lord,

Whereas I am informed y^t S^r Richard Deane, Knt. and Alderman and late Lord Mayor of y^e Citty of London, is lately deceased and to be buried, as I am given to understand, in a private manner, no way suitable with his dignity and eminent quality of Chief Magistrate of y^e Citty, not only contrary to y^e laudible custome of his predecessors, but alsoe of your owne constitutions made among yo^rselves for the solempne and ceremonious interment of such as have borne office in y^e place of Lo. Mayor. Forasmuch as His Majestie hath latelie signified his expresse pleasure and comānd for y^e prohibiting all nocturnall funeralls whatsoever, for y^e suppression of which disorders as I am obliged by y^e place I hold to be carefull in y^e due execution of His Majestie's comānd, so am I likewise, as I have formerlie done in y^e like case, earnestlie to desyre yo^r Lop and y^e executors of y^e defunct whom it may concern to see y^e ancient and reverend ceremonies of y^e interment both of this Gentⁿ deceased, and those of his qualitie in y^e Citty, to be decentlie celebrated and duly observed according to y^e accustomed solempnities, and with y^e usuall rights [*sic*] to y^e memorie of y^e deceased.

Soe not doubting of yo^r redinesse herein, I rest

Your Lo^p's very loving friend,

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Arundell House,

This 16 Julie, 1635.

The Lo. Mayor of y^e Citty of London.

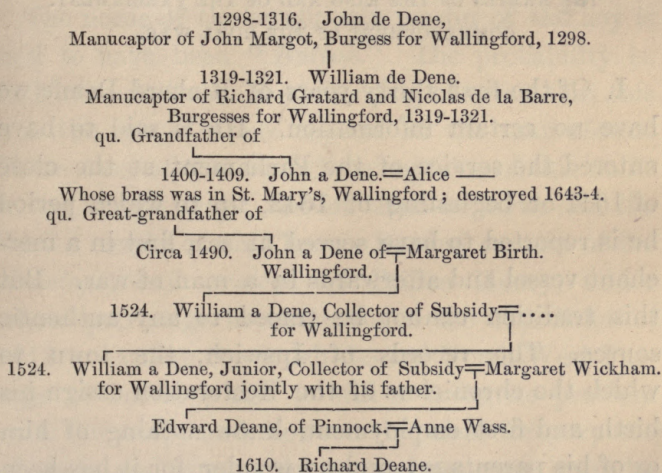
N.B.—The original of the above letter is in the possession of the College of Heralds.

C.—“The Woodhouse,” in Farmcote, was the property of a Thomas Deane, perhaps the same who died in 1634 and left a legacy of £30 to the poor of Guyting Poher. Another Thomas Deane (his son?) described on a monument to his

wife Mary in Temple Guyting Church, 1708, as of "*The Woodhouse, Gentleman*," was the father of Lewis the last possessor of the property, who sold it in 1743 to Edmund son of William Deane, from whom it passed into the family of Carruthers, who still possess it. Lewis Deane changed his name to *A'Deane*, which, although justifiable, from the registers of the church and other documents, was probably adopted to disguise his connexion with the Regicide. For his political principles were Jacobitical, as we infer from the inscription which he placed on his wife's monument (1740), in which he describes her, with evident pride, as great-niece to Archbishop Ross of Scotland who retired with James the Second to France, and relinquished all his church preferments from loyalty to his deposed sovereign. Louis A'Deane still further disguised his relationship to "the Regicide" by repudiating his arms and taking those of *Sir John de Dene* of Warwickshire (Roll of Knights, *t. Edward the Second*) — to which he was not, so far as I can discover, entitled—viz., *Argent, a lion rampant purpure*. In this he was followed by others of his own name, the A'Deanes of Awre and Etloe, on whose monuments the same arms appear; one of whom, *Mathew A'Deane*, died in 1657, and is described as the son of a *Mathew A'Deane*. So that Lewis, of the Woodhouse Farmcote, had this authority also for the change of his name. But, disguise his name as he might, he could not ignore his descent, so as to escape recognition as the blood relation of one whose deeds were of darkness in the eyes of those to whom every act of a Stuart was of light and truth and righteousness. The Jacobite of the eighteenth century would not recognise the Regicide of the seventeenth.

D.—PEDIGREE OF DEANE OF WALLINGFORD:

THE PRESUMED PATERNAL DESCENT OF RICHARD DEANE.



For a further account of this family, and others connected with it, see the disquisition on the arms of Deane of Denelands and Deane of Mattingley, *Herald and Genealogist*, vol. v. p. 356.

CHAPTER III.

THE ARMIES OF THE KING AND OF THE PARLIAMENT. COMMENCEMENT OF THE CIVIL WAR.

I. Of the first thirty years of Richard Deane we have no certain information. He is said to have entered the service of the Parliament at the close of 1641 or beginning of 1642, up to which period he is reported to have served at sea, first in a merchant vessel and afterwards in a man-of-war. But this tradition cannot be traced to any authentic source. The records of Ipswich, the town to which the chroniclers of the Restoration assign his birth and first employment, know nothing of him or of his parentage; and no wonder, for it has been discovered that he was born at Temple Guyting, and baptised at Guyting Poher, both in Gloucestershire, and of a family to which there is reason for believing that his namesake, Sir Richard Deane, Lord Mayor of London 1628-9, belonged. Under the auspices of this relation (uncle or great-uncle) the younger Richard may have been sent to sea, to learn the rudiments of navigation in a merchantman preparatory to his admission into the Royal Navy, for it was usual in those days to enter a boy who was intended for the navy in an armed merchant ship, and when he was sufficiently instructed in the ordinary duties of a seaman and gunner to

transfer him to a man-of-war. If tradition is to be trusted, such was the early education of Richard Deane, who is said to have made his first voyages in a "hoy," and afterwards in a man-of-war, in which he became a "boatswain."

The name of the owner and master of the hoy is said to have been "*Button*." The probability is, as I have shown in the preceding chapter, that this was the name of his captain in the man-of-war. There were at that time three captains of this name in the King's navy; two of them nephews and the third a cousin of Sir Thomas Button, captain of the *Antelope*, and *protégé* of Prince Henry, under whose patronage he commanded the expedition of 1612 to explore the much-desired North-West Passage to India, which is still a favourite problem with the navy, and, however hopeless for purposes of trade and commerce, not to be sneered away by the effeminate landsman, for as long as we require hardy sailors to defend us, hard work and hardships are the school in which they must be educated, and no education is comparable with that of the voyage to the North Pole.

II. The first authentic notice of Richard Deane which I have found is in August 1642, when he was employed at Gravesend Fort by Captain Willoughby. This notice occurs in a memorial* presented August 9, 1649, to the House of Com-

* King's Pamphlets, Brit. Mus.

mons by Captain Burt of Colonel Willoughby's regiment, complaining that he had been unjustly refused the vacant majority to which, as senior captain, he was entitled, and for which he was qualified by his services and character. For the latter he refers to "*Colonel Deane*, who now belongs to the navy as Admiral, and who was employed in August 1642 in Gravesend Fort for and by Captain Willoughby," whose lieutenant he, the said Burt, then was.

On the occasion to which Captain Burt refers several troops of horse, and musketeers on horseback, were sent from London to seize the blockhouse at Gravesend, the bridge at Rochester, the two sconces at Chatham, the castle on the hill, and Dover Castle, for "*King and Parliament*,"* *i.e.* for the Parliament.

Mr. Evelyn had visited this blockhouse July 18, 1641, and found it, as well as its opposite fort Tilbury, "stored with 20 pieces of cannon and ammunition proportionable," so that it was an important position to occupy, especially as it commanded the passage of the Thames to London.

Richard Deane was, probably, employed in strengthening the fort, occupied at that time by Captain Willoughby's company. He had, perhaps, been sent down by the Earl of Essex, or the General of the Ordnance, from London for that purpose. In the following month he rejoined the

* Vicars, *Jehovah-Jirah*, p. 129.

army, and marched with it, in the Train of Artillery, to Northampton, which they reached on the 14th of September.

The Parliamentary army consisted of about 23,000 strong of all arms, viz. 75 troops of horse, 60 in each troop; 5 regiments of dragoons, 100 in each troop; 14 regiments of infantry, 1,200 each; and a park of artillery containing 50 brass guns, and a few mortars, or "murtherers," as they were then called from their deadly effects. Brass was at that time the favourite metal for guns, but iron had been used in the manufacture in 1543, at Buxted in Sussex, by Ralph Hogge and his covenanted servant John Jackson, in memory of whom the following couplet was long popularly recited in the county—

" Master Hogge and his man John,
They did cast the first cannon."*

III. From the buff-coloured scarf worn by the Earl of Essex the colours of the Parliamentarians were taken. The officers all wore buff, or deep yellow, scarves in contradistinction to the Royalists, whose scarves were red. This distinction was early adopted. "The Earl of Essex's colour," says Whitelocke, "was a deep yellow; others setting up another colour were held to be malignants, and disaffected to the Parliament's cause. So small a thing is taken notice of in the jealousies of war!" Yellow is the Swedish military colour, and was, I

* Archæologia, xxxi. pt. 1, 433.

believe, first adopted by Gustavus Adolphus, from whose use of it it may have become the Protestant colour, and Essex, who had served in the Protestant armies in the Low Countries, may have deemed it symbolical of the cause in England.

The Royal colour of England was red as far back as the reign of Edward the Third, when the garrison left in Caerlaverock Castle were, according to Froissart, "known to be English by their red coats." But, according to Worsaae, we must go much further back for the first introduction of this martial colour into the English army. It has been, time immemorial, the war colour of the Danes, by whom it was brought to England, and whose blood flows more copiously in our veins than we are generally inclined to believe. The Danish standard was a raven on a *red* ground in time of war, and on a *white* ground in peace. The Danish army still wears a red uniform like our own, and is scarcely to be distinguished from British troops in line, and Danish soldiers stand to their colours in the field like men of whose kinship we may be proud, while the blood of the "Hardy Norsemen" still circulates in the veins of our sailors, and makes them what they are, and ever have been, invincible on their own element whenever they have encountered an enemy on anything like equal terms.

The scarves of the armies of the King and of the Parliament were *red* and *buff*; but the "uniforms" of their several regiments were anything

but *uniform*. The buff leather jerkin for defensive armour was worn by the officers of both armies alike, but the flags of regiments were of the same colour as their coats—the red, blue, yellow, &c. regiments having *red, blue, yellow, &c.* flags.

At the battle of Edgehill there were, on the side of the Parliament, *red, blue, purple, gray, and orange* regiments, under the Lords Roberts, Saye, and Brooke, and the Colonels Ballard and Sir William Constable, respectively; while the Buckinghamshire regiment of John Hampden wore *green*, and were called "*The Green Coats.*"

The Trained Bands of London were similarly distinguished from each other, and, being better disciplined, were better regulated even as to their distinctive *flags*. They followed a uniform law—*e. g.* the dexter canton of each flag contained the City arms, St. George's Cross, and the sword of St. Paul, erroneously supposed to be the sword with which the Lord Mayor struck down Wat the Tyler, in Smithfield.

In the "red regiment" the colonel's flag was all red; that of the lieutenant-colonel *red*, with the City arms in the dexter canton; that of the serjeant-major the same, with a flame *or*, issuing from the lower angle of the canton; that of the senior captain the same, with *two* issuant flames; that of the third captain three flames; and so on.

The "white regiment" had a white flag, and instead of a flame had a red lozenge upon a white ground; and the several companies were distin-

guished by *two, three, four, &c.* lozenges, according to the number of each company.

The "yellow" regiment had a yellow flag and *black mullets*.

The "blue" regiment had a blue flag and *white plates*.

The "green" regiment had a green flag and *white pike heads*.

The "orange" regiment had an orange tawny flag and *white trefoils, &c.*

For this uniformity they were probably indebted to Major-General Skippon, who had seen its advantages in war.

The regular infantry of both King and Parliament were more capriciously distinguished by the arms of their respective captains, or by personal devices, which were not always decorous.

The artillery of the Parliament does not appear to have had any particular uniform. The cavalry, being cuirassiers, required none. This was the same in both armies, and led to a disastrous mistake at the battle of Naseby, which contributed not a little to the defeat of the Royalists.

Besides the principal regimental flag, every captain of a troop of cavalry, or of a company of infantry, had his own "*cornet*" or "*ensign*" borne by a subaltern officer, who was named, from the banner which he bore, a *cornet* or *ensign*. These "colours" cost, in the Parliamentary army, £2 a-piece, and were supplied by the Council of State.*

* S. P. O.

Captains of companies sometimes embellished their flags with their own arms, or with devices expressive of their religious or political principles.

Regimental flags were of the regimental colour. These are best seen in the Trained Bands of London; the different companies of those regiments being distinguished from each other by repetitions of the regimental badge or symbol.

A similar regulation was attempted in the line regiments of both King and Parliament, but with limited success, for the personal vanity of the captains rejected the decorum of uniformity; and in this respect the Royalists fell short of the military regularity of the citizens, the superiority of whose appointments was an index to that superior discipline by which they so often prevailed over the ill-regulated valour of the Cavaliers.

IV. From the "buff" of the Parliamentarians, the buff and blue cockade of the political party called WHIGS is said to have been derived, *buff* being the party colour, and *blue* the national. The TORIES, on the same principle, ought to have adopted the *red-and-blue*; but professing to be, more truly, the country or national party, they took the "*true blue*" for their cockade, and only recognised the *red* in their scarves or coats as the colour of the King, to whose service they were especially devoted. The *black* cockade now worn by our officers is the Hanoverian, as the *white* was that of the Stuart dynasty, who probably adopted

that colour—if it may be so called—as the lineal descendants of the House of York, whose cognizance was the white rose. It is a curious coincidence, if it be nothing more, that Cromwell's "colour" was *white* when he proceeded in great pomp to take possession of the lord lieutenancy of Ireland. It may have been intended to indicate that he claimed, through his mother, to be a descendant of the Royal House of Stuart.

The word "Tory" is of Irish origin, and was first used to signify the *rapparees*, or predatory wild Irish, who fled before the English colonists into their woods and bogs. As these Irish in later times—especially in the Great Rebellion, and in the troublous days of James the Second—attached themselves to the King's party, it became the fashion with the "Liberals" of those days to stigmatise all staunch supporters of Royal prerogatives as "*Tories*;" and this is still the chief ideal, and perhaps the best description, of the aristocratical party, whose main principle is to support the Throne and Altar, and whose time-honoured toast is "*Church and King!*"

The "Tories," in retaliation, called their political opponents WHIGS—the origin of which word is somewhat more doubtful, but the commonly assigned derivation, from "*whig*, a word used in the North of England to signify *sour small beer*," is probably the right one. For, used contemptuously, it is no bad definition of those small-minded, discontented, and sour politicians who help to swell the numbers

of the democratical faction—the substratum of society in every country and in all ages—the choke of the national artichoke.

V. The ostensible purpose for which the Parliament armed being “to deliver the King from evil counsellors,” an assumption of loyalty was affected by many of those private gentlemen who had taken up arms against his Government. It was not uncommon to see such mottoes as the following upon their flags—“*Pro Rege et Parlamento,*” “*Pro Rege absente dolo,*” &c.—many of which were at first sincere, for the majority of those who first joined the Parliamentary army had no idea that anything more than a strong demonstration was intended. They took up arms against the King—but it was *for* the King! “The Crown of England,” said Fairfax, “is, and ever will be, where it ought to be. *We fight to keep it there*”—a truly fine and loyal sentiment; but observe the modification—“but the King, misled by evil counsellors, or through a seduced heart, hath left his Parliament, under God, the best assurance of his Crown and family.” And he explained his loyalty to consist of a determination “to maintain the rights of the Crown and Kingdom—*conjointly.*”*

That a less equivocal loyalty prevailed to a great extent in the first army of the Parliament is evident from the falling-off of a large portion of the

* Letter of Sir Thomas Fairfax to Prince Rupert offering terms for the surrender of Bristol.

aristocratic element of its composition after the battle of Edgehill. For, as soon as it was discovered that the King was resolved to resist to the uttermost, and that the sword must decide the contest, many of the original Parliamentarian officers retired into private life, and not a few went over to the King. The former could not reconcile the sworn allegiance of the subject with hostility to the Crown, nor service in the Royal army with their religious convictions. Thus the Parliament lost some of their best officers who had served in the Low Countries under the Veres, and retained only the lukewarm affections of some of those who still remained with them—of whom their own General Essex was a prominent example. To these desertions may perhaps be attributed the early disasters which befel the arms of the Parliament. As soon as it was discovered that the CAUSE had become republican, men of moderate monarchical principles forsook it. From which we may learn how grievously the minds of thinking men must have been agitated at the beginning of the Civil War, when they could not fight for the King without committing themselves to, at least, the toleration of Popery, nor against his “evil counsellors,” without incurring the risk of dethroning the King.

On the other hand there were not a few who, from the very beginning of the war, knew perfectly well what they were about—bold and resolute men, determined to carry out their anti-monarchical principles to their logical conclusion, the deposi-

tion of the King, and subversion of the Throne. These men declared their intentions by their deliberately chosen mottoes—" *Vincet veritas,*" " *Craindre Dieu et non autre,*" " *Deus videt,*" " *Ne animus deficiat,*" " *Per me sint omnia protenus alta*" (on a black flag)—which are sufficiently significant. Some of these leaders appear in the characters of uncompromising fanatics—as he whose flag displayed a bishop in canonicals, and under him the words " *Exosus Deo et Sanctis*"—while an officer with a drawn sword is menacing him with " *Roote and Branch!*" The bishop, from his likeness, is evidently intended for LAUD. There can be no doubt that the owner of this flag had taken up arms for the purpose of overthrowing the Church, and to attain that object would not hesitate to sweep away the Throne itself.

Such were the banners and mottoes of the more determined—the *Root and Branch men*, as they were called, and called themselves. But there were others whose natural humour was too strong to be controlled even by religious fanaticism; who, in giving expression to their political opinions, gave vent at the same time to their wit, such as it was, and this sometimes with no other object in view than to keep up the spirits of their men. One of these humourists was Colonel Cooke, of Gloucester, who, to show that he was not ashamed of the nickname of *Roundhead*, displayed upon his flag a man in armour (meaning himself) cutting off with his

sword the four corners of a square hat, such as was then worn by the bishops and at the universities, and underneath the legend "*Muto quadrata rotundis*"—by which he meant to intimate that, so far as in him lay, he was resolved to convert every square cap into a round one—every Cavalier into a Roundhead—the round cap of the London apprentices being here figuratively set in opposition to the square cap of the ecclesiastic, who was supported by the Court.

The Royalists were in no degree behind their opponents in displaying their humour upon their banners; but this humour too often took a scurrilous, and sometimes a profane, turn. The Earl of Caernarvon personified monarchy by a couchant lion, and democracy by three curs worrying him, and barking — "*Pym!*" "*Pym!*" "*Pym!*" Others, in still worse taste, are said to have had inscribed upon their banners — "*Cuckolds, we come!*" "*Cuckolds, come out!*" The former was on the flag of Serjeant-Major Picker, of Sir Horatio Cary's regiment; the latter on that of his colonel, on which was a tub, out of which a Cavalier was pulling a Roundhead by his long ears, and saying, "*Cuckold, come out!*" One or both of these flags fell into the hands of the Roundheads at the battle of Naseby.

Another flag was inscribed with — "*Damme! we'll win the day;*" but of this there is no other evidence than a ridiculous broadside, entitled "*A*

relation of Holofernes Holyhawk of what he had seen at York,"* which I adduce as one instance, among many, of the low vulgarity of the party pamphlets of the times, which, as far as relates to decency and common sense, were of equal merit on both sides.

Holofernes tells us, that, being led by curiosity to York to see what sort of persons the Cavaliers were, the first object which he encountered was "a company of women and men, in rank and file, marching along the street like souldiers," which he affirms "was such an assault unto him (for Satan had so much prevailed in those parts) that he was like to alight, and march with a woman that carried the colours" on which the above defiance was inscribed, "but was presently sent off by a serjeant-wife (a she painted) that was captain of the company, whose hair was of that large length, that it was carried by sixteen boys, each boy having six others to carry his!"

VI. The first army of the Parliament, under the Lord-General Essex, had several noblemen and gentlemen of rank for its officers—as the Earl of Peterborough, the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Manchester, the Earl of Stamford, Lord Willoughby of Parham, Lord Gray of Groby, Basil Lord Fielding, Lord Saye, Lord Brooke, Lord Rochford, Lord St. John, Lord Robarts, Lord Wharton, Lord Mandeville, Lord Hastings, Sir William Constable, Sir

* King's Pamphlet, B. M.

William Waller, Sir William Fairfax, Sir John Merrick, Sir Charles Essex, Colonels Cholmondeley, Grantham, Bampfylde, John Hampden, &c., besides Lord Fairfax and many gentlemen of rank and consideration in the Army of the North.

Those who first took the field against the King were almost as much distinguished by their position and stake in the country as by their politics.

The artillery and engineers were commanded, under the General of Artillery the Earl of Peterborough, by a lieutenant-general, who, from his name, appears to have been a foreigner, *Philibert Emanuel de Boyes*. This was, probably, a prudent measure, for few, if any, natives of England were in those days competent to undertake the command of the scientific corps in the field.

Besides the superior officers, there were attached to the artillery "eighteen gentlemen of the ordinance," the fourth of whom was *Edward Wase*, whose name suggests a reason why *Richard Deane* should volunteer into the artillery. *Wase* was his mother's maiden name, and it is not unlikely that "Edward" may have been her brother or nephew, or a relation in the first or second degree. But *Richard Deane* does not appear in the first list of Essex's army, from which we may infer that he was not a commissioned officer in 1642. The battle of Edgehill was, probably, the cause and date of his promotion.

The Parliament seem to have spared no expense or pains to make their army effective. Every

regiment of infantry was fully officered with a lieutenant-colonel, major, seven captains, ten lieutenants, ten ensigns, a quartermaster, a carriage-master, a chaplain, a provost-martial, and a surgeon. There were ten companies in each regiment, of which the first three belonged to the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and major (called sergeant-major). The non-commissioned officers were then, as now, called sergeants and corporals.

The cavalry were not at first regimented, like the infantry, but were in separate troops, each having a captain, lieutenant, and cornet. In the "New Model" the cavalry were assimilated to the infantry, and collected into regiments, with colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and majors, &c.

One of the most remarkable features in the Parliamentary armies was the duty assigned to the *chaplains*, who were expected not only to officiate in their proper offices in camp, but also to accompany their respective regiments into the field, just as the surgeons, not only to administer spiritual instructions to the soldiers before a battle, but to animate them by their exhortations while engaged in it.

At Edgehill, Vicars * informs us that "The reverend and renowned Master Marshall, Master Ask, Master Mourton, Masters Obediah and John Sedgwick, Master Wilkins, and divers others eminently pious and learned pastors, rode up and down the army through the thickest dangers, and in much

* Jehovah-Jireh, p. 200.

personal hazard, most faithfully and courageously exhorting and encouraging the soldiers to fight valiantly, and not to fly, but now, if ever, to stand to it, and fight for their religion, laws, and Christian liberties."

This was within the legitimate scope of their commission. But we can hardly restrain a smile when we are told that the "reverend and renowned" Mr. Bridgeman saw in the name of the place where the battle was fought, "*a most remarkable mystery,*" made clear in Revelation vi. 10, "And I saw a *red* horse, and he that rode on it had power to kill with a sword!" The "vale of the red horse" was never before so glorified: that of "*the white horse,*" the scene of a much more eventful battle between the Saxons and Danes, would doubtless have been recognised by Mr. Bridgeman in Revelation vi. 8, "And I looked; and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death." He would have had the additional advantage of an accurate quotation, instead of dyeing his pale horse red to suit his allegory.

In addition to the usual staff of a general, the Earl of Essex had an extraordinary, and, doubtless, a very inconvenient one, but such as is in especial favour with all Republican governments, namely, a body of men called, one might think ironically, "*a Committee of Assistance.*" This consisted of all the Members of the two Houses of Parliament serving in the army, any three of whom, with the Lord General, were to form a *quorum*. "They were to

consult and advise on all matters respecting the army, to borrow money and provisions, apprehend, detain, or discharge all persons suspected of being disaffected, *and to correspond with the House of Commons!*" *

Here are elements of mischief enough to paralyse the powers of any general, and the efficiency of any army. That the "assistance" of this Military Committee of the House of Commons did not totally destroy the army in the first year of its existence was certainly "a vouchsafing of mercy." That it produced its natural consequences, within two years, was a result not to be wondered at by any who were gifted with the blessing of common sense. "The Committee of Assistance" who "reported to the House of Commons" may have had no small share in the events which produced the necessity of the surrender of this army in Cornwall in 1644. The banner of the Earl of Essex as Lord General, was an orange flag with a white border, and the motto "*Basis virtutum constantia.*" His private flag is *said* to have borne a much less commendable legend, and one which must have "looked particularly small" after his flight from Fowey, "*Cave adsum!*"

VII. THE KING set up his standard at Nottingham, August 18th, 1642. His army, then in process of formation, had hardly been reduced into regular regiments, but before the end of the

* Life of the Earl of Essex, by Hon. Capt. Devereux, R.N., vol. ii. 346.

following year it had assumed something like substance and consistency. His principal officers were—

Lieutenant-General . . . The Earl of Forth.

Major-General Sir Jacob Astley.

General of Ordnance . . Lord Percy.

Lt.-Gen. of Ordnance . . Richard Fielding.

General of Horse . . . Prince Rupert.

Lt.-General of Horse . . Lord Wilmot.

Major-Gen. of Horse . . Lord Wentworth.

Adjutant-General . . . David Scrymshere.

Colonel of the King's Body Guard and Commander-in-Chief
in the Field,
The Earl of Lindsey.

The King's army was not nearly so strong in artillery and infantry as that of the Parliament which was advancing to meet him. Accordingly, as soon as he heard of this advance, he evacuated Nottingham and marched towards Shrewsbury and Worcester, taking up reinforcements as he went on, so that by the time the two armies met at Edgehill they were nearly equal in point of numbers; but the King had still the advantage in cavalry, and the Parliamentarians in artillery and infantry.*

In point of respectability, *i.e.* of social position, the King's army has been generally supposed to rank higher than that of the Parliament; and yet we find there was in some regiments, even of

* For a full list of both armies, and the names of officers, &c. see R. Symonds's "Ensigns of Regiments, &c. Sep. 26, 1643," and "List of the King's Army at Oxford," both in the British Museum.

horse, a strange mixture of high and low life. In Colonel Gervase Lucas's regiment of horse, for instance, the colonel himself is described as formerly "*the Earl of Rosse's horsekeeper;*" and, of six captains, the first "*was a seller of gloves over against the crosse at Cheapside;*" the second "*an attorney of the Common Pleas;*" the fifth "*a parson.*" In Colonel Marmaduke Roydon's regiment of foot, the colonel was "*a citizen of London;*" his lieutenant-colonel and major had been "*apothecaries;*" the senior captain "*a cordwainer,*" *i.e.* a shoemaker. Sir George Gorges's major had been "*footman to Colonel Haughton,*" also "*a fiddler at virginalls.*" A captain and lieutenant had been "*shoemakers;*" another captain "*a waiter at an ordinary;*" another "*a tailor;*" another "*a miller;*" Colonel Sir John Pate's senior captain "*an apprentice in a glazier's shop in Holborn Hill;*" and Lieut.-Colonel Bullock of Sir John Hooper's regiment of horse had sufficient interest to obtain the post of "colonel's captain" for "*his own servant, Benjamin Baker;*" while the major of Sir Ferdinando Stanhope's horse "*had been a cook*" !!

All these names are copied from R. Symonds's List of the Royal Army, and could not have been set down by him maliciously, for he was a trooper in the King's Body Guard, and a most sincere and devoted Royalist.

I have not found similar candour in any compiler of the Parliamentary lists, in which we might have expected a similar and much longer

roll of "*pitiful serving-men and broken-down tapsters,*" such as we know, upon the authority of Oliver Cromwell himself, abounded in that army. But both sides must have been sorely puzzled to find officers, the only tolerably good ones being those who had commanded the Trained Bands of London. Those described in Symonds's List as "citizens," were probably the best officers in their respective corps.

I return now to the army of the Earl of Essex, in which *Richard Deane* was a volunteer of artillery—"a matross," possibly, as his enemies called him in contempt and derision.

VIII. The Earl of Essex rode through the main streets of London on the 9th September, 1642, to join his army at St. Alban's. He was received everywhere with honours and acclamations. The streets from Temple Bar to Moorgate were lined with the City Trained Bands under the command of Sergeant-Major-General Skippon, and every regiment, as the Lord-General rode by, fired three volleys in his honour, while the people filled the air with loud acclamations, crying—"God save my Lord General! God preserve my Lord General!"*

Essex's popularity was equally great with the common soldiers, who familiarly called him "*Old Robin,*" and never saw him off duty without throwing up their caps and crying out "*Hey! for Robin!*"

* Vicars, *Jehovah-Jireh*, p. 154.

He had been always popular with the Londoners ever since his divorce from his wife, Frances Howard, one of the most infamous of women, the paramour of King James's despicable minion Carr, whom he created Earl of Somerset upon his marriage with the divorced countess. The hostility of the Court secured for Essex the sympathy of the people. He had, besides, inherited the popularity of his father, who had been generally regarded as the friend of the Commons, and whose treatment by Queen Elizabeth still rankled in their breasts. The subsequent service of the Earl in the Low Countries, in support of the Protestant cause, endeared him still more to the middle and lower classes, who could never quite separate the ideas of Royalty and Popery.

Besides his personal popularity Essex had acquired, no one knows how, the reputation of a good general, and it was not until repeated miscarriages and a great defeat that the Parliament could be persuaded of his mediocrity, and even then they mitigated his supercession with thanks for his services.

The old, but not always trustworthy adage, "*Fronti nulla fides*," applies in a remarkable degree to "the Lord General." It is hardly possible to see a more martial countenance than that of his *portrait* in full armour. What could have been the deficiency? Perhaps there was some want of intelligence or fire in his eye, which the painter has flatteringly supplied in the picture?

There must, one would think, have been some inherent defect of manhood to make him a lifelong object of misfortune, both in his domestic and professional life. Both his wives despised him, and both were accused, one of them justly the other doubtfully, of unfaithfulness; and most of his military undertakings failed, or, when successful, seemed to be so by chance. His crowning error—the desertion of his army in Cornwall, was a marked evidence of weakness, and inexcusable upon the plea upon which he put it, namely, the opinion of a subaltern officer of artillery that “they would be surrounded by the enemy before morning.” It is no justification of his conduct that the officer who expressed this opinion was “*an honest, judicious, and stout man,*” (the subject of this memoir, whose future career bore out the Earl of Essex’s estimation of him,) for that officer was not only of low rank at the time, but does not appear to have given his general anything but a mere opinion, which any one could have formed from the circumstances; certainly not any *advice*, and least of all advice to take care of himself and leave the army to its fate. Weakness of mind, aggravated doubtless by disease (for he did not live long after it), was the only cause of this shortcoming. But it is, perhaps, only just to his memory to say that his inefficiency in the field has been attributed by some of his contemporaries, and by most of his biographers, to a strong disinclination to push matters too far *against the King in*

person, and that his latent loyalty, rather than his natural incapacity, will amply account for his inactivity. He wished (they say) to leave the King in sufficient power to treat on equitable, if not equal, terms with the Parliament. Hence his sluggishness after the battle of Edgehill, which was only a drawn battle, because Essex would not pursue the retreating Royalists. Hence, also, his dilatory and sometimes eccentric marches, when by more rapid movements and better calculated combinations he might have crushed the King's army, and, probably, taken the King himself prisoner. This would, however, have led to a Republic, and Essex was not a Republican but a Constitutionalist.

After all, however, that has been said against the Earl of Essex as an over-cautious general, one thing remains to be considered, to which his detractors have not given sufficient weight in the argument, viz. the materials of which his army was composed. These were such as might have justified Sir Francis Vere himself in not trusting too implicitly to the discipline or endurance of his men. Upon this point we have, as is well known, the indisputable authority of Oliver Cromwell, who pronounced them no match for the gentlemen of family and spirit who fought for their King. Essex, an old soldier, knew that no reliance could be placed on such troops; their natural English courage might carry them to a certain point, and their fanaticism, perhaps, a little further, and these might be sufficient against foreign troops, but

would be of little avail against fellow-countrymen of better blood, animated by the enthusiasm of loyalty and the confidence of an early acquaintance with arms.

The Parliamentary infantry, recruited chiefly from towns, had not the *stamina* of the yeomen and peasants who followed their own landlords into the field for the service of the King, and their cavalry was still more inferior to that of the King, which had the advantage of being all Englishmen, whereas many of the Parliamentary horse were foreigners, who had no interest in the cause beyond a regular supply of pay. The King's horse, on the other hand, were generally composed of country gentlemen and their yeomanry, mounted upon their own horses, and accustomed to riding and hunting from their youth, to whom a *charge* was a pleasurable excitement, and the more so that it was always successful against ordinary cavalry, and only failed against Cromwell's Ironsides, and the pikes of the London Trained Bands.

To compensate for "want of blood" the Parliament were obliged to look abroad for officers, and their superior command of the "*science of war*" * enabled them to get many from the Low Countries, where alone, in those days, the art of war was to be learned in the field. Nevertheless they were a motley group after all, for when Massey's and

* For this expression we are indebted to Tacitus, who puts it into the mouth of Mucianus—"Rex (sc. *nummos*) esse belli civilis nervus"—who had been anticipated by Cicero, Philip. v. 2, *Atrox pecunie belli*.

Cooke's cavalry were disbanded in 1646 many of them were found to be Asiatics and Africans! " Passes were given for *Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Ethiopia!*"* Turks, Arabs, and Negroes had been fighting for the Christian liberties of England and the overthrow of despotism!

Among the European foreigners in English pay was a Croatian captain in Sir Robert Pye's regiment of horse named *Carlo Fantom*, who had served in almost every army and country of Europe, and could speak thirteen languages, besides being an excellent cavalry officer. Such a man would have been invaluable had not his accomplishments been sullied by a ferocious and licentious temperament, which not only prevented him from rising to a higher rank but brought him ultimately to an ignominious end. He pretended to be what was called a **HARDMAN**, that is, one who is invulnerable to steel and lead. But the unfortunate Croatian was not proof against hemp, for, deserting to the King's side, and being convicted of an act of atrocious violence, he was sentenced by a court martial, or by the provost marshal, to be hung, and the King allowed the sentence to be carried out. Carlo Fantom had entered Goring's regiment of horse, and obtained a troop in it, and thought that in such company he might safely resume his Croatian practices; but even that notorious debauchee could not tolerate his atrocities, and gave him up to justice.

* Vicars, Jehovah-Jireh.

Discipline in the King's army was, at first, exemplary, and by policy severe; and but for the loose examples of the officers might have continued so to the end, and produced a different issue of events. Four instances are mentioned by R. Symonds. On the march from Coberley, Gloucestershire, to Bedminster, July 13, 1644, two soldiers were hung, for pillaging, upon two trees in opposite hedgerows, and the whole army was made to march between them. A few days afterwards two more marauders were executed in the same manner, in the march between Bath and the little town of Mells; after which we hear no more of plundering or violence in that army.

The discipline of the Parliamentarians, loose at first, became gradually better, while that of the Royalists declined; for the soldiers of the latter, having no pay and no credit, were compelled by necessity to help themselves whenever they were not voluntarily supplied by the counties through which they marched; the result of which was an unpopularity which became ultimately very prejudicial to the King's cause. The morals of the Cavaliers, indeed, had never been particularly good, and are but doubtfully censured and comparatively excused by Sir Philip Warwick, who has the following anecdote on the subject: "I do remember what a friend told me that he replied to an old acquaintance of his engaged with Fairfax, vaunting of the sanctity of their army, and (condemning) the negligence of ours, 'Faith,' says he, 'thou sayest

true, for in our army we have the vices of men, drinking and wenching; but in yours you have those of devils—spiritual pride and rebellion.’ ”*

The principal officers of the Parliamentary army were, nominally, appointed by the Lord General, Parliamentary interest sometimes prevailing, as it does now, in favour of some who would not, otherwise, have been selected by the commander. It was under this apprehension, perhaps, that Essex allowed the inferior grades to be filled up by the votes of the soldiers themselves. In a new volunteer army, this practice may for a time work well as long as their enthusiasm for their cause lasts; but private jealousies and improperly acquired influence are sure to prevail before long, to the serious detriment of an army so officered. The first address of the Lord General to his soldiers alludes to this privilege, and makes it an argument for the better discharge of their duty: “I do expect that all men who have voluntarily engaged themselves in this service, answer my expectations; in the first place, that you willingly and cheerfully obey such as *by your own election* you have made commanders over you.”

IX. On Wednesday, the 14th of September, the army marched out of Northampton, and were reviewed by the Lord General, “both front, rear, and flank, when the drums beating and the

* P. 331.

trumpets sounding made a harmony delectable to their friends.”*

On the next day “the laws and ordinances of war were read to each regiment and expounded, by order of the Lord General; and on the following Monday the whole army began its march in the direction of Worcester, in search of the King.”

The usual hardships of an army of recruits attended the inexperienced and ill-provided soldiers. The commissariat had not been properly organized, and great suffering was the consequence. “This night,” says Nehemiah Wharton, “we marched into Burford, where our quarters, as constantly it is since His Excellency † coming, were very poor, many of our soldiers having neither beds, bread, nor water, which makes them grieve very strong, *for backbiters have been seen to march upon some of them six abreast, and eight deep, at their open order*; and I shall be in the same condition ere long, for we can get no carriage for officers, so that my trunk and all necessaries therein are left at Coventry. And, indeed, our regiment is more slighted than any other, insomuch that I have heard some of our captains repent their coming forth.”

This was a bad beginning—but we must remem-

* Nehemiah Wharton’s Diary, cited by Capt. Devereux, R.N. *Life of Essex.*

† This seems to imply neglect on the part of the Lord General, but, probably, this result arose from officers forsaking their immediate duties, to seek and court the favour of the general by personal attendance.

ber that the victims were Englishmen, not sorry, perhaps, to exercise their national privilege of grumbling. Their tone was soon changed by the *panacea* always effectual with English troops—the report of “*the enemy!*” and a prospect of fighting.* “Upon this report,” says Wharton, “our whole regiment ran shouting, for two miles together, “*to Worcester! to Worcester!*”

The report turned out to be a false alarm, and “used only to hasten the captains from Warwick.” But it got the army together, and kept them on the alert, the advantage of which was seen shortly after, in the skirmish at Powick Bridge—the first in this part of the kingdom. The same spot, eight years afterwards, was the scene of “the Crowning Mercy” of Worcester.

Upon the approach of the army, the feeble garrison of Worcester evacuated the city, and on the 24th of September the Parliamentarians entered it, “marching up to their ancles in thick clay.” In the *bivouac* of the preceding night they had “had small comfort, for it rained hard.” “Our food,” says Nehemiah Wharton, “was fruit—for those that could get it! our drink water, our beds the earth, our canopy the clouds; but we pulled up the hedges, pales, and gates, and made good fires; His Excellency promising us that if the country relieved us not the day following *he would fire*

* A similar experiment, which never failed of success, was repeatedly tried on the British troops in Sir John Moore’s retreat to Corunna, and in that of Wellington from Burgos. However disordered and disorderly, they always rallied to their colours at the report of “*the enemy!*”

their towns! Thus we continued *singing of Psalms* until the morning, when we marched into Worcester."

Before entering the city the Earl addressed his army in a speech replete with sound sense, and containing the justest views of the duties of a soldier.*

X. The King, in the meantime, had reached Shrewsbury, where he arrived on the 20th of September, and such was the zeal of the Royalists in those parts that in three weeks he had raised above 11,000 men. He left Shrewsbury on the 12th of October, and, marching by Bridgenorth, Wolverhampton, and Kenilworth, reached Southam on the 21st, and the next day advanced to Edgehill, with the design of reducing Banbury, which was garrisoned by only 800 men of the regiments of Lords Saye and Peterborough, and one troop of horse.

But rapidly as the King had marched Essex outmarched him by leaving his heavy guns and baggage behind, under the protection of two regiments of foot and one of horse; so that when he arrived at Kineton, on the 22nd of October, he was only six miles in rear of the Royal army; but he seems not to have been aware of this fact, which is an assumable proof of the indifference, if not hostility, of the country people, to his cause. The King was better informed, and, hoping to take his enemies by surprise, turned back to meet them, and marched

* Parl. Hist. ii. 1476.

all night for the purpose; and on the morning of the 23rd of October came within sight of the high ground of Edgehill, overlooking the Vale of the Red Horse, and here he halted, as in a good position, which certainly it was in respect of the enemy, who were on lower ground, but not a very strong position in itself.

The 23rd of October was a Sunday, and Essex was called out of church to meet the threatened attack. He had either been ignorant of the King's proximity, or was under the impression that the sanctity of the day would be as much regarded by the King as by himself, and, accordingly, had determined to give his own men this day of rest. But Sunday seems to have always been rather a favourite for battle in all ages of the Christian church, and even preferred by some commanders, on religious grounds. They thought that men's minds, being on this day usually better disposed towards sacred duties, would be better prepared to meet the contingencies of the field of battle; that wounds would be borne with more patience, and death confronted with a clearer conscience.

It was noon before the van of the Royalists appeared on the crest of Edgehill, by which time the whole of the Parliamentarian army was drawn up on the opposite side of the plain—on such rising ground as they could find—with a sufficient space between to allow, or rather to entice, the descent of the King's army into the vale. This appears to have been Essex's design; for his army being only

of equal size with that of the King, and not so well provided with cavalry, it would have been too rash in him to have assaulted a position, in advancing upon which he would have been charged on both flanks by the Prince Rupert and Lord Wilmot; the former of whom was already well known as a dashing officer, from the reputation which he had acquired in Germany.

The Earl of Lindsey, who was virtually the commander of the King's army, for he was His Majesty's adviser, ought to have known better than to throw away the advantage of ground which he possessed. But being at the head of a well-appointed body of troops, and relying, perhaps, too confidently upon their better blood, and despising what he may have regarded as the *canaille* of London, he descended from his position and formed his line of battle in the vale, parallel to that of Essex, and with a similar disposition of his forces.

The battle began with a cannonade—the first shot being fired by the Parliamentarians.

RICHARD DEANE, the volunteer artilleryman, was there; and it was probably his experienced hand which laid the guns, and, perhaps, fired that first shot. But, be that as it may, he was here committed to his first overt act of rebellion, which culminated in regicide. How little did he, or any of those around him, imagine to what a catastrophe that first shot was a prelude!

CHAPTER IV.

THE BATTLE OF EDGEHILL. CAMPAIGN OF 1643. FIRST BATTLE OF NEWBURY.

I. The heavy guns which the Earl of Essex left behind him on his forced march from Worcester, would have been invaluable in the field of Kineton. But not only were these guns, seven in number, wanting, but three regiments of foot also, nine troops of dragoons, and a large quantity of ammunition, whose presence in the field would probably have changed a drawn battle into a decisive victory.

The numbers engaged were nearly, if not quite, equal. Eleven thousand on each side may, approximately, represent them.

The Parliamentarians were drawn up in three lines. Three bodies of horse, under Sir William Balfour, covered the right flank; twenty-four troops, under Sir James Ramsey, protected the left. The fact of both these commanders being Scotchmen seems to show that the best of the chivalry of England were on the side of the King. These officers had served in the Low Countries, and were employed by the Parliament as men of experience. Many of the officers, indeed, on both sides, had gained or deserved their spurs, under the famous Veres, who so gallantly sustained the cause of the Elector Palatine in Germany.

The Earl of Essex put himself at the head of his centre, on foot, pike in hand, determined to share the dangers of his commonest soldiers. But the exigencies of battle soon compelled him to mount his horse, for the sake of taking in a fuller view of the field.

The Royal army was drawn up by the Earl of Lindsey, its virtual commander, in the same order, both generals having learned the art of war in the same school; Lindsey took his post, like Essex, on foot, in the centre, his right wing being covered by a strong body of horse under Prince Rupert, and his left by a weaker, under the Lord Wilmot.

The battle began with the fire of the field pieces of the Parliamentarians, which was immediately answered by that of the Royal artillery, and a desultory, and almost harmless, cannonade continued for two hours.

It was now four o'clock, and not much above two hours of daylight remained for the work of death; and yet in that short space of time, if we may believe the almost incredible, but unanimous, assertions of the chroniclers, *five thousand men*, nearly a quarter of the two armies engaged, lay dead or severely wounded on the field—a proportion sufficient to disorganise an army of any but the very best disciplined troops in Europe. Such, however, seems to have been the ordinary character of the Civil Wars of England, waged by men “who never know when they are beaten” *—a blessed ignorance to which we

* Buonaparte's *disparaging* remark on the English troops.

owe many a victory. May it never be improved into a knowledge which shall tell us when to run away!

When the cannonade was supposed to have done its work, closer action began, which would have left nothing to be desired by the King had judgment and discretion accompanied the irresistible impetuosity of the Royal horse. Prince Rupert, under cover of the smoke of his artillery, dashed forward, and bore down all resistance in the left wing of the Parliamentarians; scattered Ramsey's horse; crushed a whole regiment of foot; and so scattered the four regiments which formed Sir Charles Essex's brigade, that they did not recover their formation until after the battle was over. Sir Charles Essex did not live to see the rout of his brigade, being cut down in the first moment of the charge.

Rupert, having broken the left wing of the enemy, pursued his headlong course, until he reached the baggage-train; and then commenced a scene of plunder which must have delighted the eyes of every Roundhead officer who had served abroad, and knew what must be the inevitable consequence of this disregard of the commonest principles of war, if there was any hostile commander capable of taking advantage of it. Such a commander was *John Hampden*,* a born soldier, whose natural in-

* It has been said that Hampden's and Hollis's regiments did not come up until the next day, but this is contradicted by Sir Richard Bulstrode, who was in the Prince of Wales's regiment in Rupert's horse, and charged with them. He says that "they continued pursuing the broken Parliamentarians

stinct supplied the want of a regular military education. He saw the error of Prince Rupert, and took immediate advantage of it. Bringing up his regiment of Buckinghamshire Green Coats, with their five field-pieces, he attacked the pillagers, and poured such a fire into them, that, dismounted as the majority of them were, they fell in heaps upon their own plunder; and those who were mounted, or were able to regain their saddles, turned and galloped back again, only to find their own left wing broken, and in full flight! The cause of which disaster was as follows:—

As soon as Lindsey perceived that Rupert's charge had taken effect, he ordered the infantry of his left wing to advance, in the belief that, supported by Wilmot's horse, they would have little or no difficulty in overthrowing the Parliamentarian right wing, which could not but be disheartened by the success of Rupert. But Sir William Balfour, holding back his heavy horsemen until the Royalists had advanced some way, and were breathless and disordered with running, dashed into their ranks at the auspicious moment, and broke them almost as easily as Rupert had overthrown Sir Charles Essex. Two regiments of pikemen only recovered their formation in time to meet his charge, and they stood like rocks against three successive charges of

until they met Hampden's and Hollis's regiments, and a regiment of horse, coming from Warwick, which made them hasten as fast back again as they had pursued" (p. 83). With a pardonable suppression of the true facts of the case, he admits the arrival of Hampden and Hollis, and the consequences of it to Rupert's horse.

cavalry and infantry mixed. This was the critical moment of the battle. Could they have stood firm until their broken regiments had had time to rally, the victory would have declared itself for the King. But Sir Philip Stapleton, seeing the crisis, brought up the Lord General's Life Guards, and uniting with Sir William Balfour, and supported by Lord Robarts's and Sir William Constable's regiments of foot, rushed upon them in front; while two other regiments of infantry—those of the Lord General and Lord Brooke—attacked them simultaneously in rear. The result was inevitable—an honourable defeat, but immortal glory!

While this struggle was going on, Sir William Balfour, with part of his horse, broke through a regiment in rear of these gallant pikemen, and pushed on until he reached the King's principal battery of artillery, and cutting down many of the artillerymen at their guns, had, for a few minutes, all the guns in his possession; when a curious scene occurred, which could never have happened if the cavalry had been distinguished from each other, as the infantry were, by their uniform. The King's own regiment of horse, not perceiving, through the smoke, the fate of their artillery, and seeing only Balfour's horsemen, took them for Wilmot's, returning from a successful charge, and immediately rode up to them as friends, and they all began shaking hands and congratulating each other on their victory! While they were thus engaged the Earl of Essex came up with his own regiment of

Londoners, and fired into them both, taking both for Royalists! Balfour, perceiving his mistake, drew off his men, and joined Essex—and the two, united, charging the King's own regiment, not only broke it, but also captured the Royal standard.

The ultimate fate of the standard, however, was not thus determined. For Essex, to whom it had been brought, handed it over for safe custody to his secretary Chambers, with the intention, as he afterwards said, of returning it the next day, under a flag of truce, to the King.* Chambers, after carrying it about the field for some time, began to fear that he should lose both it and his life together, if any Royalist should happen to catch sight of it: he gave it, accordingly, into the custody of a private soldier, and went away in search of his general. The soldier was seen by Captain John Smith of the King's Body Guard, who had been separated from his regiment by Balfour's charge, who immediately cut down the soldier and recovered the standard, and carried it forthwith to the Royal camp, and delivered it the same night to the King, who was sitting in his carriage looking on and endeavouring to understand the confused scene before him. Captain Smith was deservedly knighted on the spot, and was subsequently created a baronet—an honour which he did not long enjoy, being killed soon after at the battle of Alresford.

The glory and reward of this recovery of the standard were challenged by an Irishman, a Sir

* See Vicars.

Robert Walsh, who pretended—upon what grounds he was never able to show—to have been the true re-captor. In *proof* of the justice of his assumption he usually wore a gold medal with a green watered ribbon, such as had been given to Sir John Smith by the King. “How he came by it,” says Sir Richard Bulstrode, “I never knew, but have often seen him wear it.”

The original capture of the standard from the King’s standard-bearer was claimed by Arthur Young, an ensign in the Blue Regiment—Sir W. Constable’s—who was one of the witnesses examined by the Committee of the High Court of Justice, previous to the King’s trial, to prove the King’s personal presence in the field at Edgehill—a fact which required no other evidence than that of the eyes of some thousands of both armies and the public fame which confirmed it. His *absence* would have been much more un-Royal and disgraceful. Young says that the standard was taken from him by an officer named Middleton, “who was afterwards a colonel for it;” which is also probable—for “*Hoc feci, tulit alter honorem,*” is almost a law of nature.

II. By the time that the charges of Rupert and Balfour had been delivered, and the Royal standard lost and recovered, the shades of evening began to descend, and the Royalists, who still held Edgehill, retreated from the vale to their original position,

and were not pursued—an argument, if any were needed, of the exhaustion of their adversaries.

The Parliamentarians kept the field all night and claimed the victory; but, if a victory at all, it was a very barren one. They had taken and lost the same number of guns as the Royalists, and a much larger number of men, although their loss in officers was not nearly so great, nor were the officers lost of such high rank. For on the part of the King had fallen his general the Earl of Lindsey, mortally wounded, Sir Edmund Verney his standard-bearer, cut down with the Royal standard in his hand, and Colonel Monro, an officer of great reputation and experience; while Colonel Vavasour, the lieutenant-colonel of the King's regiment, was taken prisoner, and with him the noble Lindsey, together with his gallant son, another of "the fighting Willoughbys," who would not quit his wounded father.

The only loss of note on the side of the Parliament was that of Colonel Sir Charles Essex, killed, and Sir *Faithful* Fortescue, who deserted, in the heat of the battle, to the King.

The example of Colonel Fortescue was soon followed, but in a less disgraceful manner, by many other gentlemen, who retired to their own counties and into private life, weary of a cause which they perceived was fast becoming that of the Parliament only, and no longer that of "the King and Parliament," for which they had armed.

On the morning of the 24th Essex drew up his

army again, in the same field, in battle array, expecting, or pretending to expect, that the Royalists would again descend into the Vale of the Red Horse and renew the action. In this order he remained for *five* hours! waiting to be attacked. At the expiration of that time he seems to have first conceived the idea of sending out scouts to see what had become of the enemy—who, soon returning, reported that from the summit of Edgehill, as far as eye could reach, no enemy was to be seen! Whereupon Essex, as if he too had no desire to see them, instead of advancing, faced about and returned to Warwick, leaving the King unmolested in his operations against Banbury, the garrison of which, naturally concluding that the Parliamentary army had been defeated, surrendered at the first summons! By this lucky stroke the King gained a strongly fortified town, and captured nearly a thousand men and ten stands of colours, and his scouts brought in twenty waggon-loads of powder, which by some unaccountable neglect the Comptroller of Essex's artillery—who was *not* Richard Deane—had left in the vale.

No artillery was taken off by the field as trophies by either army, so that this evidence of victory could not be appealed to by either. And yet *both* celebrated their so-called "victory" with a day of public rejoicing and thanksgiving, and the Parliament further rewarded their Lord General with £5,000 a-year! Perhaps they thought it something to come out of the first field of battle *not defeated*,

and it was certainly more than they could have expected.

Whitelocke calls the battle “a great deliverance and a small victory for the Parliament;” which is, perhaps, the most favourable view that could be taken of it by a Parliamentarian.

Negligent as the Earl had been, the King was not more awake to his own advantages. For, instead of pushing on to London after the capture of Banbury, he withdrew to Oxford, and when he again advanced it was to find himself anticipated by Essex, who arrived in London with his whole army while the King was still thirty miles from it. Had the King marched upon London the day after the fall of Banbury he would have put the whole Parliament to flight, and finished the war. But, by his unaccountable delay, he not only lost a promising opportunity, but incurred, and it is to be feared justly, the reproach of a truce-breaker. For on the 11th November, while negociations for peace were going on between the Parliamentary Commissioners and his own, he was so ill-advised as to make a dash upon Brentford, the advanced post of the Parliamentarians—and was repulsed. Hollis’s regiment, which held the town, defended it most gallantly, for several hours, against vastly superior forces, until relieved by Hampden’s, Lord Brooke’s, and the Trained Bands of London—when what was intended to be a surprise, became a disgraceful discomfiture to the assailants. It was here that the Trained Bands first proved the value of the

discipline which they had been taught by Skippon, for no efforts of the King's splendid cavalry could shake them, although they rushed again and again upon their squares. This success was of the utmost importance to the cause of the Parliament; for it not only gave confidence to their troops, but also roused the enthusiasm of the Londoners to the highest pitch, and confirmed them in their resistance to the King, whose conduct was industriously represented as the basest treachery. Essex was strongly reinforced by volunteers and amply supplied with provisions, and, on the third day after the battle, drew up on Turnham Green 24,000 strong—more than double the number that had fought for the "CAUSE" at Edgehill. The King, on the other hand, was greatly weakened, and might have been easily cut off from his base of operations, Oxford, if the Lord-General had but exercised the most ordinary foresight. But he again let the King escape from the danger, and actually cleared the way for him by withdrawing a post of 3,000 men from Kingston Bridge; thus leaving the passage of the Thames open, of which the King did not fail to take advantage by retreating upon Oatlands, and thence through Reading to Oxford, which he reached on the 29th of November.

This conduct of the Earl of Essex affords another confirmation of the truth of his biographer's remark that "he was unwilling to push the King to extremities," and that he was at heart more of a Royalist than a Rebel. He was certainly not a

Republican ; he respected the throne, and “sought to keep the King there.” The King himself seems to have had this impression of Essex, by offering him shortly afterwards (December 19th) “a free pardon if he would forbear to proceed any further in this destructive war;” an offer which Essex would have gladly accepted if permitted to do so by the Parliament, which was too far committed to expect any mercy from the King, and, therefore, resolved not to lay down arms without a more solid guarantee than his mere word. He was not able (or willing ?) to give them this guarantee, and the war continued. But, for the present, both armies went into winter quarters.

III. The Campaign of 1643 opened with the siege of Reading by the Parliamentarians, who sat down before it on the 15th April, and took it in twelve days by capitulation. Here, however, their troubles commenced ; for an epidemic broke out with terrible violence, and the soldiers, disheartened by sickness, or disgusted, as some say, because they were not allowed to sack the town, deserted in great numbers and went home.

Notwithstanding these discouragements, the Londoners were so anxious to drive the war away from their own neighbourhood that they insisted on the siege of Oxford, and ignorantly imagined that Oxford being taken the war would be brought to an end by the submission of the Royalists ; and the House of Commons, to leave no room for reconcili-

ation, impeached the Queen of high treason. The Lords would not entertain the question, and it was dropped; but enough had been done to show the *animus* of the majority, and the hopelessness of peace. The army of the Parliament was far from being equal to the siege of Oxford. Money, recruits, and especially clothing, were wanted—"most of the soldiers were almost naked"*—so that Essex and his army were compelled to retire to Kingston until their wants were supplied.

The King's affairs were in a more prosperous condition, and if they had been better managed must have been attended by a speedy triumph. In the North the Marquis of Newcastle and in the West Lord Hopton were victorious, and the Queen had landed in Yorkshire with money and munitions of war—the two things which the King wanted to enable him to march out of Oxford. The Queen entered Oxford on the 13th of July with 3,000 foot, thirty troops of horse, six guns, two mortars, and 150 waggons of stores; and on the same day news arrived that the Parliamentarians under Sir William Waller had been completely defeated at Roundway Down by Lord Wilmot.

Nor was this all the good fortune which hailed the arrival of the Queen. The illustrious John Hampden had fallen in a skirmish on Chalgrove Field on the 18th of June, and Bristol was surrendered to Prince Rupert a fortnight after the victory of Roundway Down.

* Essex's letter to the Speaker, August 6th, 1643.

This accumulation of misfortunes upon THE CAUSE was aggravated by a jealousy which had arisen between Waller and Essex, the latter charging the former with neglecting to support him, and of exciting by his emissaries such sympathy in London, that he was not only received with open arms in the City, but also declared to be the only general able to bring the war to a triumphant close. Waller retaliated with recalling the inactivity and failures of Essex. But Essex had the greater reason for complaint, for he was the greater sufferer. Out of his army, now reduced to 6,000 foot, one-half were sick and disabled for want of proper food and clothing; his horses were dying daily, and no notice was taken by the Council of his urgent entreaties for reinforcements. And, besides all this, his men were deserting to the new army which the Parliament had given to Waller, where they were sure of finding the food and clothing of which they were destitute in his. The Lord General, under these circumstances, "demanded immediate payment of arrears and regular payment for the future, clothing, and 800 horses, and, above all, that Waller's army should not be recruited until his own had been filled up; and that those who had been guilty of spreading injurious reports about him should be punished. He demanded also the sole power to grant commissions, and that the true causes of the loss of the battle of Roundway Down should be investigated."*

* Life of Essex, ii. 376, by Hon. Captain Devereux.

The Lords agreed to all these demands, and ultimately the Commons also, excepting the inquiry into the causes of Waller's defeat; for this was too sore a subject, and too sure to be found unfavourable to their favourite.

Matters were at so low an ebb with the Parliament at this time, that on the 5th of August the Lords resolved to petition the King for peace; a resolution which was carried in the House of Commons also by a majority of twenty-one. But, the City protesting against it, the question was reconsidered by the Commons, and ultimately the proposition for peace was rejected by a majority of —two!

The Lords, notwithstanding, sent a deputation to the King, who, confident in his present superior strength and fortune, received them, unfortunately, with coldness, and dismissed them without any encouragement; and thus another opportunity of reconciliation was lost.

This was an ungracious error on the part of the King—but the next was fatal. Proud of his *prestige*, and confident in his resources, he resolved upon the siege of Gloucester, the only garrison now held by the Parliament in the south-west; and on the 9th of August sat down before it. With this ill-advised siege commenced the misfortunes of the unhappy King. It was not possible for him to have committed a greater mistake. Had he marched to London instead, he would have found

the army of the Parliament decimated by sickness and disheartened by ill-success, while his own was strong in numbers, *materiel*, quality, and spirit. Despair had already seized upon the Parliament, and he had only to overcome the opposition of the City of London by an offer of amnesty, and his Throne might have been re-established, without any curtailment of its dignity.

The too easy conquest of Bristol was the temptation which ruined him. Bristol was a much stronger place than Gloucester, and more strongly garrisoned, and yet had fallen almost without a blow! The King expected the same success as Prince Rupert, but he did not take into account the difference of circumstances. Colonel Fiennes had not been supported by the inhabitants of Bristol as Colonel Massey was by those of Gloucester; and, above all, Fiennes was by nature a weak and desponding man, whereas Massey was one of the bravest and most experienced officers in the service of the Parliament, having served in the campaigns of the Low Countries. He had seen places attacked, and knew how they were to be defended; and he knew that, however strong may be the ramparts, the chief hopes of a besieged city were in its garrison—in the courage, resolution, activity, and resources of its men. All these were in favour of Gloucester, and all were brought, with consummate skill, against the King, until his army, worn out by privations, losses, and fatigue, were in no condition to fight a battle, under the

walls of a hostile city, with a relieving army, and the siege was, of necessity, raised; and those misfortunes of the King commenced, which, after one brief glimpse of success, followed each other with such precipitation, that the final overthrow could be regarded in no other light than as "The Judgment of God."

One of the peculiarities of the siege of Gloucester was the use of red-hot shot by the Royalists—an invention which has been ascribed to General Elliot, the gallant and successful defender of Gibraltar. The history of the siege of Gloucester,* published in 1647, and reprinted in "Somers's Tracts," informs us that they shot granadoes, fire-balls, and great stones out of their mortar pieces. Thus in one night they shot above twenty *fiery melting hot bullets*, some eighteen pounds weight, others twenty-two pounds weight, which were seen to fly through the air like the shooting of a star. These passed through stables and ricks of hay, where the fire, by the swiftness of the motion, did not catch, and falling on the tops of houses, presently melted the leads, and sunk through. But all the skill and industry of the enemy could not set one house on fire. One shell, of which the fuze was fortunately extinguished by a daring soldier before it had time to explode, was picked up in the street, and weighed sixty pounds. The stone-work of the bastions and gates was broken to pieces by the cannonade, "*but the earthworks stood firm*"†—a

* Somers's Tracts, v. 325.

† Ibid. p. 323.

lesson which our military men have only lately begun to learn, notwithstanding the experiences of our armies in the East Indies for above a century, where mud-forts and earthworks always gave their artillery more trouble than the strongest fortifications of stone.

The report of the siege of Gloucester roused the dormant energies of Essex, who mustered his relieving army on Hounslow Heath on the 15th of August. He had only 3,500 foot, and 2,500 horse, and about forty pieces of cannon—nevertheless, he set out on his adventurous march. The citizens of London, who had lately neglected him, now rushed forward to his support. Fears for their own safety added wings to their zeal. They sent out their Trained Bands and volunteers, and, overtaking him at his last rendezvous, raised his army to 15,000 fighting men. “*William the Conqueror*” was, for a time, forgotten, and “*Hey for Robin!*” was again the popular cry. But “*William*” bode his time; and twelve months afterwards had the satisfaction (if such it was) of seeing his rival reduced to extremities by the same neglect, in this instance real, to which he had attributed his own disasters.

Essex marched on, regardless of the clouds of skirmishers which hung upon his flanks and rear, under Lord Wilmot, until, on the 5th of September, he stood in battle array upon the heights of Prestbury, in sight of Gloucester. On that same night the Royalists set fire to their huts, and when morning arose were out of sight.

The two heroes of Gloucester, *Massie* and *Dennis Wise*, the Mayor, were celebrated by the chronicler Vicars, after his usual manner, with laudatory anagrams; which, as a specimen of the "conceits" of the times, I subjoin:—

EDWARD MASSIE—*Never miss a good reward.*

He that so well doth stand upon his guard,
I hope shall never miss a good reward.
A good reward, oh! may He *never miss*—
Due honour here, hereafter heavenly bliss!

DENNIS WISE, THE MAYOR OF GLOUCESTER—*Felt cares to govern in wisdom.*

He *felt* more cares than in his private life
Wisely to governe in those dayes of strife.
And found that crowns are crowns of thorns most right,
He *felt* his cares ruling by *Wisdom's* light.

IV. The King's army marched from before Gloucester to Sudeley Castle; and thence, the next day, by slow marches towards Oxford, by way of Wantage, and arrived at Newbury and Donnington Castle on the evening of the 19th of September, just two hours before Essex, who had followed by forced marches to prevent the threatened occupation of London by the King. The King, on September 19th, had his head-quarters at Donnington Castle, and the Parliamentarians passed the night, under arms, in the fields.

At daybreak on the 20th, Essex, at the head of his own regiment of horse and two brigades of infantry, attacked Bigg's Hill, which he considered

to be the key to the enemy's position, and for some hours the possession of this hill was hotly contested. Prince Rupert's horse repeated their desperate charge of Edgehill, and scattered the Parliamentary cavalry, but all their efforts were vain against the pikes of the London Trained Bands, while the artillery of the Parliament was skilfully and destructively directed upon them and upon the main body of the Royalists. "It did great execution," says Clarendon, "upon the King's party, both horse and foot. The Earl of Sunderland, a volunteer in the King's troop, was taken away by a cannon ball before they came to the charge."

The battle lasted until night parted the combatants, when the King fell back upon Newbury, and the Parliamentarians maintained, as at Edgehill, the ground upon which they had fought—and with exactly the same results, for when the next morning dawned, the whole of the King's army were on the march for Oxford, which they reached, with very little interruption, the same day.

The battle was, like Edgehill, a drawn battle; although the Royalists appear to have lost the greater numbers of men from the skilfully chosen position and good practice of the Parliamentary artillery. It consisted chiefly of brass ordnance, and was under the command of Sir John Merrick.

The subject of this Memoir bore his part in the practical working of the guns, and exercised and taught his destructive art, as a volunteer—in what rank is uncertain; but in whatever capacity he may

have served his merits were recognised; for in twelve months from this time we find him in a position to be consulted by the Lord General, and to form one of a body of the leading officers of the army to conclude a treaty of capitulation with the King's Commissioners.

The principal loss sustained by the King in this first battle of Newbury was in officers, of whom twenty were killed, and among them three noblemen who were greatly deplored — the Earls of Carnarvon and Sunderland, and Viscount Falkland. The last was a man as highly respected by his own party as Hampden had been by his; and both were regretted even by their enemies, for both were looked upon as sincere patriots. They had many traits of character in common—courage, sense, and fidelity, with great and highly cultivated intellects. Both of them also were in other respects, and in equal degrees, remarkable. For as Falkland's loyalty and chivalrous sense of honour retained him in the King's service, although he mentally approved the grounds upon which the Parliament had originally taken up arms; so Hampden, notwithstanding his devotion to the cause of the people, is said to have never lost his respect for the King. The one was a patriotic royalist, the other a loyal patriot. Their loss was not only the greatest blow hitherto received by their respective parties, but a public calamity. For, had they both survived this battle, it is not improbable that after this *second* indecisive action matters might have been accom-

modated between the King and the Parliament, through their meditation, and a Constitutional Government established, without passing through the horrors of a second civil war, terminated by the judicial execution of the King, and the temporary domination of a Republican despotism.

CHAPTER V.

CAMPAIGN OF 1644.—RIVALRY OF ESSEX AND WALLER.—
DIFFICULTIES OF THE PARLIAMENTARIANS.—CAPITULATION
OF THEIR ARMY IN CORNWALL.—FIRST PUBLIC RECOGNITION
OF RICHARD DEANE.

I. The battle of Newbury, like that of Edgehill, left both armies in nearly the same relative condition. Each of them now knew the other's strength, and that it consisted in those very particulars in which they were themselves deficient. The cavalry of the King, and the artillery of the Parliament, were the best arms on their respective sides. The infantry of the Royalists was upon the whole superior to that of the Parliamentarians, being chiefly composed of sturdy peasants, whose landlords had armed and mounted at their own expense; whereas that of the Parliament had been recruited in towns, and had all the bodily weaknesses of the town-born and town-bred rabble, with the single advantage that the majority were fanatics, and, as such, less debauched and dissolute than the common soldiers of the Cavaliers. To this general inferiority of the Parliamentary infantry there was, however, one signal exception—that of the Trained Bands of London, which, under the discipline of Sergeant-Major (now Major-General) Skippon, had arrived at the highest pitch of excellence which the infantry soldier of the

seventeenth century was capable. Had they been more largely employed, and not, for the most part, kept in useless garrisons in London, the scale of victory might have inclined to the side of the Parliament much sooner than it did.

With the temporary suspension of hostilities which followed the exhaustion of battle, the jealousies of rival generals revived in both armies. For as the successes of Rupert had excited the envy and hatred of Wilmot, so Essex could not escape the vexatious hostility of Waller, whom a party in the House of Commons, envious of the Earl as a lord, and suspicious of the true cause of his inaction, set up and sustained as the superior general.

Essex himself was so moved at this manifest partiality that he wrote another strong letter on the 2nd January, 1643-4, complaining of the nomination of Sir William Waller to the command of a separate and independent army, raised in Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire. He had already remonstrated, only a fortnight after the battle of Newbury, against Waller's troops being quartered with his, unless they were under his own orders; and he had tendered his resignation to the two Houses,* rather than submit to this indignity. In consequence of this letter they revoked the separate commission which had been sent to Waller. But on the 1st of January, three months afterwards, they nominated him to the command of the new army

* Life of Essex, ii. 385.

raised in the four counties above mentioned, and ordered Essex to sign his commission. This he did—with certain modifications, which preserved his own superiority—and in his letter of explanation expressed his readiness to give an account of his actions in Parliament. From the tenor of this letter it is evident that his lukewarmness to the cause had been suspected, and that to it rather than to any want of military talents the indecisive nature of his battles had been attributed by the partisans of Waller.

Whether from apprehension of the evils likely to result from these jealousies between their generals, or from a dread of popular inconstancy, the Parliament at this time sought to strengthen themselves by an alliance with the Scotch ; and, in order to conciliate them, took the COVENANT. This unworthy if not degrading step was, for a time, successful. They obtained the co-operation of 18,000 foot, 3,000 horse, and a train of artillery for service in the North of England, on the condition of a payment of £30,000 a month, and the immediate advance of £100,000. By the end of the year 1643 the Scotch army was assembled, under the Earl of Leven, on the Borders, and in due time joined the northern army of the Parliament under Sir Thomas Fairfax, and were usefully employed in the battle of Marston Moor, although not so successfully as their countrymen could have wished.

The union of the Parliament with the Scottish

malcontents was a great discouragement to the Royalists at Oxford, insomuch that the King called a Parliament at that city, for the purpose of opening a negociation for peace with the Parliament at Westminster, though the mediation of the Earl of Essex, who undertook to convey the proposals to the two Houses in London. But as the document did not in its address acknowledge the legality of the Parliament of Westminster, it was returned by them unread, and the explanation of its cause of failure was left to Essex.

The King thereupon wrote a letter in his own person to the Parliament; but exceptions were taken to certain expressions in it, which were declared to be "insulting," and all attempts at further negotiations failed, and both sides prepared for a renewal of hostilities.

II. The necessity for advancing the stipulated payments to the Scotch to make them march into England caused the pay of Essex's army to fall into arrears, and the usual evils ensued in the desertion of good men, and the demoralisation of those that remained. The season was already far advanced; yet on the 8th of April Essex was unable to march out of his winter quarters. His rival Waller had been better supported by his friends in the House of Commons, and, in conjunction with Sir William Balfour, had gained a victory over Lord Hopton at Alresford. Nettled at this result of favouritism, Essex wrote a third letter of complaint to the

Houses, declaring that in consequence of their neglect of supplies he was unable to take advantage of Waller's success, and that the enemy were grown much more confident, and that his position had been, during the past week, one of extreme danger, so that "there was but a step between his army and death, or, what was worse—slavery." "His army had been reduced to 7,500 foot and 3,000 horse, while that of the Earl of Manchester, who was only general of the associated counties, had been raised to 14,000, and had received regular pay, whereas his men, though so much fewer in numbers, had been in arrears."

Essex himself followed his own letter to London, and, from his place in the House of Lords, reiterated his complaints of neglect; and succeeded, after some discussion, in obtaining a Committee for the consideration of his claims, which were, to a certain but still inadequate extent, admitted; and by the 14th of May he was in a condition, such as it was, to take the field.

Essex's head-quarters were at Beaconsfield, and Waller's at Farnham. They were directed to act in concert, and advanced simultaneously—the King, whose head-quarters were at Abingdon, falling back slowly upon Oxford and Woodstock.

It is curious to observe with what confidence Charles, at this time, looked forward to an early and easy triumph. Whether from his naturally sanguine temperament, or from policy, to keep up the spirits of his followers, he carried with him his

usual amusements, his chess-board, and his stag-hounds. Round his chess-board was the legend—

Subditus et Princeps istis sine sanguine certent.

At Woodstock, on 2nd June, 1644, “he killed two bucks;” * and whenever he had an opportunity he hunted. † This passion he had inherited from his father, almost the only virtue which that unmanly sovereign possessed. The spirit of chivalry, which was conspicuous in Charles, must have been inherited with the Norse blood of his mother.

The King continued falling back as Essex and Waller advanced, and on the 6th June the army of Essex was at Chipping Norton, and that of Waller at Stow on the Wold. Here intelligence was received of the extremities to which the garrison of Lyme was reduced, and the name of ROBERT BLAKE, its gallant defender, was first sounded by the trumpet of Fame. A message from the Council of War in London brought this intelligence, and, at a general council of officers of Essex’s army, it was resolved that Lyme should be relieved, and that Waller, who had the lighter artillery, and was, therefore, able to move quicker, should go in pursuit of the King, while Essex marched to the relief of Lyme. Waller objected to this arrangement, and remonstrated, that, as he had been commissioned for the campaign in the West, he ought not to be made to deviate from his line of march. But Essex was

* R. Symonds’s Diary, p. 7.

† He was hunting on 13th June, 1645, the very day before the battle of Naseby.

positive and peremptory, and Waller was obliged to submit. This was the climax of the quarrel, and confirmed and systematised, through the instrumentality of Waller's friends in Parliament, that neglect of the army of Essex which led to its ruin.

But, in justice to Sir William Waller, it must be confessed that all the blame of implacable animosity cannot be laid to his charge. Essex was as strongly incensed against him as he was against Essex. A passage in a letter of the latter to "The Committee," dated Blandford, June 14, shows this but too evidently. He objects to the displacement in Cornwall of Lord Robarts, "a Cornishman, who is cordially tender of the good of his country," by Waller, a stranger, who will not be so considerate, for "if Sir William Waller go thither, he will, indeed, free them from paying contributions to the enemy, but will command them to pay contribution to himself, *though I know* he hath received large sums already from the Western gentlemen for the paying of two or three regiments which have done them but little service as yet, the other regiments under his conduct being paid by the City of London, or the Associated Counties."

This letter was written with the intention of pointing out the impropriety of the "Committee's" interference between him and Waller, who was, properly, subject to his orders, and concludes with the following extraordinary passage, which exhibits, at once, the proper indignation of the superior officer, under the circumstances, and the less justi-

fiable private feelings of the rival general. "If you think fit to set him at liberty, and confine me, be pleased to make him General and me the Major (General) of some brigade, that my soldiers may have free quarters, free plunder, and fair contributions besides—as *his have*—without control."

Lyme, defended by Colonel Blake, and protected on the sea side by the Earl of Warwick, the Lord High Admiral, held out until Essex reached Dorchester, when Prince Maurice, who commanded the besieging army, raised the siege, and withdrew to Exeter.

The relief of Lyme was followed by the surrender of Weymouth and Surfoot Castle, and Essex, having reported these successes to the Committee, resumed his march for the West, in pursuance of the decision of a General Council of War jointly held between the land and sea forces, at Lyme—*but contrary to the orders of the Committee*, which required him to return and join Waller in following up the King. The Committee, however, acquiesced in this decision, for they could not reasonably maintain their own opinions against those of the joint council of army and fleet.

Hitherto Essex's inefficiency had been produced chiefly by the want of money and supplies. He now felt the want of men also. The Committee had their revenge in leaving him to his own resources.

At this point it is difficult to exonerate Essex from the charge of rashness in advancing into a

country known to be not only hostile to his cause, but actively employed in promoting that of the King. The greater part of Devonshire, and the whole of Cornwall, were Royalists. This fact ought to have made him pause and reflect.

But, besides this discouragement, he might have calculated beforehand upon what was likely to happen—and what ultimately did happen—namely, the being inclosed between two or more armies, each of them as strong as his own, and each of them with means of recruiting losses, in a friendly country.

This was a great oversight; he did not reckon upon having any other than the retreating army of Prince Maurice to encounter. He did not think that Sir Richard Grenville would raise the siege of Plymouth on his approach, and by a dexterous manœuvre get into his rear, while Prince Maurice and Lord Hopton were in his front. He had no idea that the King, giving the slip to Waller, would advance by forced marches, and unite with Prince Maurice at Exeter.* And least of all did he think that Waller would leave him in the lurch, and make no effort to prevent the junction of the King with his nephew. He would not have done so by Waller, and he little thought that Waller would do so by him.

But the simple-minded and honourable Lord General did not sufficiently calculate upon human nature, and the provocations which he had given

* August 6, 1644.

by his openly expressed ill-opinions to his rival, to whom the contents of his letters to the Committee had been, doubtless, communicated by his friends in Parliament, some of whom were actually in the Committee itself.

The only excuse which can be made for him is, that on the 16th July he had received a despatch from the Committee informing him that they had ordered Waller to send a strong detachment to Dorchester to his support; and he could hardly believe that Waller would be so malicious as to evade this order and send him neither aid nor explanation.

Essex, in disregard of all probabilities, marched into Cornwall, and soon found himself surrounded and inclosed in a nook of that impracticable country, where he could neither advance, retreat, nor fight!

III. We have now arrived at the last days of the army of Essex and the first of RICHARD DEANE, whose rise may be dated from the fall of his General.

The army, after many marches and counter-marches, was at length so outnumbered and outmanœuvred by those of the King and his lieutenants, that by the end of August 1644, it was cooped up in a corner, between Lostwithiel and Fowey, and in imminent danger of being starved into surrender.

The conduct of the men, under such circumstances, was very creditable. Essex wrote from

Lostwithiel on the 16th August, "Braver men than are here I never knew; this army being environed by four* armies, in great want of victuals, and the country consisting of so many passes that we can neither force them to fight but when they list, nor march off. And for aught I can perceive their intention is to starve us. Yet both horse and foot keep their courage and constancy for all the extremity they are put to. . . . Intelligence we have none, the country people being so violent against us that if our scouts or soldiers fall into their hands they are more bloody than the enemy."

On the 23rd Essex wrote again. Matters were then worse, for the Royalists had captured Restormel Castle from some Devonshire foot, who had made scarcely any resistance. This enabled them to throw up a work, which they armed with cannon, by means of which they boasted that they would drive the Parliamentarians out of their positions; "And yet," says Essex, "our soldiers, both horse and foot, are very cheerful and resolute."

From this date to the 30th continual fighting was going on, and Essex reports that his troops were successful in every encounter, beating back their assailants with loss. The balance of advantages, nevertheless, remained with the Royalists, whose cavalry extended itself from Blazey to Polkerris, and threatened the communications between Fowey and Lostwithiel.† For every skirmish, how-

* Essex reckoned the divisions of Grenville and Hopton as separate armies, which, together with the King's and Prince Maurice's, made four.

† Life of Essex, ii. 435.

ever favourable to the Parliamentarians, left their less numerous army comparatively weaker than that of the enemy, who could better afford to lose three than they to lose one man.

Essex now bethought him of an attempt to save his cavalry, whose forage was nearly exhausted, and by a bold movement, skilfully conducted by Sir William Balfour, the whole of the horse, 2,500 in number, were, contrary to all probability, saved. For, taking advantage of a stormy night, they rode through the Royal army, between the two divisions of Goring and Grenville, while Goring and his officers were at their usual midnight orgies! A few mounted officers of Grenville's pursued and fired their carbines at them, but Goring obstinately refused to believe the report that the enemy were escaping, and would not sound to horse. He was too comfortable to be disturbed. Balfour and his troopers returned at a future day to do good service at the second battle of Newbury.

The infantry and artillery, who could not so easily get away, were by the departure of their cavalry left in a worse condition than ever, for, being deprived of their vedettes and scouts, their case had become hopeless. The Royalists, on the other hand, were roused from their inertness by the alarm lest the remainder of the enemy should make a similar attempt, and advanced, accordingly, in force, and before daybreak succeeded in drawing so close a circle round the Parliamentarians, that two regiments, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel

Weare and Colonel Bartlett, abandoned their posts, and fell back in disorder upon the main body. Bartlett was taken prisoner, and was suspected of having voluntarily lingered to be taken.*

On this night, August 31, a stray ball had very nearly ended the contest between the King and Parliament. For, as the King was sitting in a field at supper, a cannon ball, fired from the Parliamentary quarter, fell within twenty yards of him!†

The abandonment of their posts by the two‡ selected regiments above named so exposed the train of artillery that they were only safe until daylight, when nothing would prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

“Under these circumstances,” says Essex, § “came Falstaff and Phipps of the Train, from the Major-General (of the Ordnance), to know what course was to be taken, especially to save the train. I advised them to bring the train to Milla-bill, and the army, and then to secure the two former posts; and, if that could not be done, then to draw up the army round about the train, and make the best conditions, or else to threaten to blow up the train. Two hours after day *Mr. Deane* came (who is an honest, judicious, and stout man), and

* See Skippon's evidence before the House of Commons, Sep. 23, and Rushworth, part iii. p. 714.

† Sir Ed. Walker's Progress of the King, Harl. 4229.

‡ Essex names three defaulting regiments, his own, Lord Roberts's, and Colonel Bartlett's.

§ Letter to Sir Philip Stapleton in Rushworth's Collections.

told me that if they should offer to move any of the army from their posts, they would never stand; and that he thought that they should all be surrounded before noon; which was indeed evident to all. Upon this consideration I thought it fit to look to myself, it being a greater terror to me to be a slave to their contempts than a thousand deaths. I took ship and came to Plymouth."

This was certainly most extraordinary conduct on the part of the Lord General, and I can imagine no excuse to cover it. He who had brought the army to that miserable condition that they could neither fight nor retreat, deserted them secretly on hearing the opinion of a subaltern officer of artillery that the troops, "if moved from their posts, would never stand!"

It does not appear that Mr. Deane counselled the Lord General "to look to himself," but rather to *look to his men*, and keep them at their posts, as the only chance of successfully resisting an attack. The report was sufficiently alarming, for it discovered the officers' want of confidence in their men. Matters were, indeed, bad enough, but they were not yet desperate. They were rendered so by the flight of the General, who might have avoided the "contempt" which he dreaded, by gallantly braving one of the "thousand deaths" which he preferred to slavery. He would have found many companions to share it with him besides the indomitable Skippon, of whom it was popularly said that "he lived like an angel, prayed like a saint, and

fought like a lion.”* On this occasion we may conjecture that he “swore like a trooper” as soon as he heard of the General’s abrupt departure. For we find, from his evidence before the House of Commons, that he knew nothing of Essex’s intention to leave the army until he heard that he was gone. Essex’s letter to him, the next day, from Plymouth, entirely exonerates him: “Be assured that no worldly thing would have made me quit so gallant men, but the impossibility of subsisting, after I heard that three regiments I had most trust in, namely, my own, the Lord Robarts’s, and Colonel Bartlett’s, had quitted their posts on Gallant side, and so that way was open for the enemy to cut off all provisions from you that should come up from Millbelle Bay, and Polderic (Menabilly and Polkerris), and that you were unable accordingly to draw up thither, *for fear your own men should quit their colours if moved.*”

Major-General Skippon did not wait for this letter to call a Council of War. He called it as soon as he was informed that the Lord General, Lord Robarts, Sir John Merrick, the General of the Artillery, and two or three other superior officers, had been seen to embark in a boat at Fowey, and to sail away in the direction of Plymouth. Rushworth,† who is corroborated by Whitelock, has preserved the spirit, if not the substance, of Skippon’s speech to the Council of War on this occasion.

* Vicers’s Worthies of the Commonwealth.

† vi. 704.

GENTLEMEN,

You see our General and some chief officers have thought fit to leave us, and our horse has got away. We are left alone upon our defence. That which I propose to you is this—that we, having the same courage that our horse had, and the same God to assist us, may make the same trial of our fortunes, and endeavour to make our way through our enemies as they have done; and account it better to die with honour and faithfulness than to live dishonourable.

It has been said that a Council of War never fights. An aggregate of brave men in council become cowards just as a committee of honest men will become rogues, and do the most dishonest actions, of which every one of them, individually, would be heartily ashamed. Thus it proved in the present instance. The majority of the council decided against Skippon's proposal as too rash and hopeless, and voted to make overtures of surrender to the enemy. They thought it necessary, however, to draw up the following justification of their decision, which all the council, whether assentient or dissentient, were bound by the law of councils to sign. It must have been with a heavy heart that Skippon signed first, and, if we may measure the act by the character of the man, it must have been equally repugnant to Richard Deane, whose signature stands ninth out of the twenty affixed to the document, to sign so humiliating a confession.

ATTESTATION OF THE OFFICERS OF THE ARMY CONCERNING
THE DISASTER IN CORNWALL.

Forasmuch as all actions, especially such as are disastrous, are subject to misrepresentation and various censure, We,

whose names are here subscribed, officers in the army and City brigade, under the command of his Excellency the Earl of Essex, do publish, to those who are desirous to be truly informed, this breviary of the condition of the army as it stood at the time of the capitulation.

After that his Excellency with his army had for a month together withstood the fury of three armies of the enemy, his soldiers being tired out with perpetual duty and continued fight, in the expectation of relief, but none coming, it was at last resolved that the horse should make their way through the enemy (which by God's mercy they did perform very resolutely and with good success), and that the foot should contract themselves into a narrow compass near to Foy, which was put in execution upon Friday night, and performed on Saturday the last of August, with such difficulty, by reason of the steepness of the hills and the darkness of ways, that five of our cannon were lodged, which retarded our march till the three armies surrounded us, and caused continual fight for three miles together upon our retreat, wherein our soldiers behaved themselves so resolutely that we did often beat the enemy back to their body, and took three of their foot colours, and five-and-twenty horse, and about three-score prisoners; so that if we had had any fresh men to have spared for our posts (wherein the whole army was upon constant duty), we should, in all probability, have had great advantage upon the enemy. But, however, we came at length, by God's providence, to a place appointed by his Excellency, leaving a part of our army to fight with the enemy until the rest had taken their ground, which we happily performed before night, supposing ourselves then in a condition further to resist the enemy, notwithstanding the extreme weariness of our soldiers. But by reason that two regiments of the army quitted their posts, and thereby gave the enemy free passage betwixt us and Foy, we being then blockt upon a bare hill from all succours both of provisions and ammunition, not having provisions of bread or match for above one day's expense; of all which his Excellency being

informed about ten of the clock at night, did desire, if possible, the army might be drawn to Millebille Bay, for the better securing of the army and gaining provisions by sea, which was impossible to be performed, the enemy being so near upon our skirts. Whereof when his Excellency was truly informed by *some of our chief commanders*, and it appeared that the army could not be saved but by a treaty, and therein his Excellency's personal presence would have been, in human judgment, of more disadvantage than benefit, he going by sea to Plymouth, with the Lord Robarts and Sir John Merrick in his company, we unanimously (?) consented to enter into a treaty with the enemy, and agree to these articles, which being already exposed to publick view, we refer you thereunto, these articles being since approved by his Excellency as being of great advantage to the army and of great service to the kingdom.

Ph. Skippon.	Rob. Martin.
Christo. Whichcote.	Ro. Moor.
Hen. Barclay.	Rich. Ingoldesbye.
Tho. Gower.	Walter Floyd.
Tho. Tyrell.	Will. Webb.
Jo. Boteler.	Tho. Pride.
Will. Hunter.	Tho. Evershot.
Jo. Francis.	Tho. Bulstrode.
<i>Rich. Deane.</i>	Math. Draper.
Jo. Were.	Archibald Strahan.*

IV. The number of the men who laid down their arms was 6,000, and the guns, which were all of brass, amounted to 49, besides "the great basilisco of Dover." † This "basilisco," or Royal gun, was

* These were all field officers of the staff, or in command of their respective regiments. If Richard Deane signs in his right place, he must be taken to represent the Artillery, left in his charge by the retreat of the Major-General of the Ordnance, Sir John Merrick, and the Comptroller, Captain Forbes.

† Rushworth, v. 708; also *Mercurius Aulicus*.

probably the piece called "*Queen Elizabeth's pocket pistol*," on which were inscribed the lines—

"Load me well, and keep me clean,
I'll carry a ball to Calais Green."

It had, probably, been taken away from Dover in August, 1642, when Tilbury Fort, Chatham, Dover, &c., were secured by order of Parliament.

The terms of the capitulation were, under the circumstances, very favourable to the vanquished. The officers were allowed to take away their personal arms and baggage, and the men were to be clothed and fed, and conducted to Poole or Portsmouth. But many of them never reached either. It is said that only a *third* of them reached Poole; * for as they passed through Lostwithiel the women of that place, pretending that the soldiers' wives had got *their* clothes on, fell upon them † and stripped them almost naked. The men of Lostwithiel, following the example, did the same to many of the unarmed soldiers, so that the wretched creatures, separated from their party, wandered about the country in nakedness and misery, and such as could not regain the column of prisoners, who were marching under an escort, were either murdered, by the peasantry, or made their way, after much suffering and many days of weary travelling, to their own homes—many of them to die of diseases brought on by exposure and ill-treatment.

* "Three hundred of them died daily, so that by the time they reached Poole they were reduced to 1000!"—Sir Edw. Walker.

† Echard.

Richard Symonds, to whose diary we have been already indebted for information respecting the movements and condition of the King's army, was present on this occasion, being a gentleman private in the King's Life Guards, and his report, although naturally tinctured with the prejudices of party, is very interesting, and may be regarded as authentic. His account is as follows:—

“ Monday, 2nd of September, 1644.—His Majesty's army of foot stood on the same ground, or thereabouts, as before; the several regiments by themselves, and the colours stuck in the ground, flying. His Majesty in the field, accompanied with all his gallant Cavaliers, disposed in several places. While about ten of the clock, Major-General Skippon, first in front, marcht out with all that rout of rebels, after the colours of their several regiments. These regiments I took a note of after three or four had past.

“ Colonel Lord Roberts's.

“ Colonel Bartlett's.

“ Col. Aldridge, *blew* colours, with lions rampant *or*.

“ Col. Davies, *white*, City of London.

“ Col. Conyngham's, *green*, City of London.

“ Col. Weare, *argent*, Governor of Lyme.

“ Col. Carr, ensigns *or*, distinctions *blew*.

“ These are Plymouth men.

“ Col. Layton, a regiment of horse, *blew* cornets.

“ All these ensigns and cornets were wound up, and enveloped.

“ It rained extremely as the varlets marcht away, a great part of the time. The King himself ridd about the field, and gave strict command to his chief officers to see that none of the enemy were plundered, and that all the soldjers should repair to their colours, which were in the adjoining close. Yet notwithstanding our officers, with their drawn swords, did perpetually beat off our foot, many of them lost their

hatts, &c. Yet most of them escaped this danger, until they came to Lostwithiel, and there the people, inhabitants and country people, plundered some of the officers, and all notwithstanding a sufficient party of horse was appointed by his Majesty to be their convoy.

“They all, except here and there an officer (and seriously I saw not above three or four that looked like gentlemen), were struck with such a dismal fear, that as soon as the colour of their regiment was past (for every ensign had an horse, and rid upon him, and was so suffered), the rest of soldiers of that regiment pressed all of a heap, like sheep, though not so innocent, so dirty and so dejected, as was rare to see. None of them, except some few of their officers, that looked any of us in the face. Our foot would flowt at them, and bid them remember Reading, Greenland House (where others that did not condicion with them took away all as prisoners), and many other places; and then would pull their swords, &c., from them, for all that our officers did slash at them.”

Symonds goes on to excuse this ill treatment on the plea that the Parliamentarians had robbed and plundered the Cornish in the day of their own success. “One of their actions, while at Lostwithiel,” he says, “must not be forgotten. In contempt of Christianity, Religion, and the Church, they brought a horse to the font in the Church, and there, with their kind of ceremonies, did, as they called it, Christian the horse, and called him by the name of *Charles*, in contempt of his sacred Majesty.”*

Symonds justly regards this proceeding with abhorrence; but it may be remarked that this baptizing of a horse was one of the most ordinary

* Pp 66, 67.

charges made against the Parliamentarians. It is said to have occurred in St. Paul's Cathedral, when occupied by a regiment of dragoons, during the King's trial; and again in one of the midland counties, when the very name of the captain whose horse was "christianed" is given; but I suspect these stories to have been invented for party purposes, or, that one such instance of profanation by some drunken or godless soldiers has been multiplied into an habitual practice. The Puritans, on the other hand, were equally ready to believe any scandal against the Royalists, and to generalise it. And against the baptism of the horse we may set the blasphemous dedication of a Church at Plymouth to *Saint Charles!** which still stands a memorial of the strange piety of the reign of Charles the Second—that King who was the first to be designated in our Liturgy, "*gracious and religious*"—a phrase, doubtless, intended by its inventors to signify "full of grace and religion."

V. Symonds's narrative corroborates the tradition that the Parliamentarians who capitulated at Fowey were grossly ill treated, not only by the Lostwithiel mob, but even by the King's soldiers, in the sight and in defiance of their own officers. And there can be little or no doubt that from this beginning may be dated much of the sufferings of the Royalists themselves, in subsequent battles,

* "Saint Charles the Martyr."

when little quarter was given to them by their victorious enemies.

The sufferings of the unfortunate prisoners of Fowey did not end with their persecutions in Cornwall. They were conveyed to Southampton; and so badly fed when there, and so closely packed together, that a typhoid fever broke out among them, and not only decimated *them*, but carried off also above one hundred of the inhabitants of that small town, as we learn from a letter of the mayor to the Admiralty Commissioners in 1652, when he protested against the quartering of 1,200 Dutch prisoners in his town; on which occasion he referred them to the well-known calamities brought upon the place by the sickness of Essex's soldiers who were left there in 1644.*

The officers of the Parliamentary army were graciously received by the King, "who admitted the chief officers to kiss his hand; and only refused that favour to Major-General Skippon, as being too great an enemy to his Majesty's honour and safety."†

If *Richard Deane*, as is probable, was one of these officers, the fact is too remarkable to be passed by without the comment that he was the only one of those who sat on the King's trial, and signed his death warrant, who had *twice* kissed the King's hand—once on this occasion, and again at Childersley House,‡ after his rescue from the

* S. P. O.

† *Iter Carolicum*.

‡ When they not only kissed the King's hand, but also *knelt* to kiss it—all except Fairfax and Cromwell. See Clarendon, *State Papers*, App.

Parliamentary Commissioners, to whom he had been sold by the Scotch.

This, which in the eyes of Royalists might have been regarded as doubled-dyed treason, argued, in those of the opposite party, the depth of a conviction which left him no choice between a sentimental loyalty and an absolute patriotism. "The King above all—*unless* the King be the enemy of his subjects!" must have been his political creed. How far such a creed is in accordance with a man's higher and highest duty—to the King of Kings—must be determined by other considerations than those of worldly policy.

CHAPTER VI.

THE NEW MODEL.—THE BATTLE OF NASEBY.—SURRENDER OF LEICESTER.—CAMPAIGN IN THE WEST OF ENGLAND.—BATTLE OF LANGPORT.—SIEGES OF BRIDGEWATER, SHERBORNE CASTLE, AND BRISTOL.

THE Earl of Essex was much better received on his arrival in London than he ought to have expected: but his Parliamentary interest was considerable, and he was still very popular with the citizens. Another army was quickly raised and placed under his command, and the second battle of Newbury afforded him an opportunity of recovering his reputation; but he was too ill to take any part in it, and the command devolved upon the Earl of Manchester.

In this battle the Parliamentarians recovered six of their cannon which they had lost in Cornwall; and the Trained Bands of London once more saved their army from defeat; but neither side could justly claim the victory. The second battle of Newbury, like the first, and like Edgehill, was a drawn battle. The cavalry of the King, under Prince Rupert, were, as usual, irresistible at the beginning, but their gallantry was in a great measure neutralized by the superior practice of

the Parliamentary artillery, which on this day was served with peculiar steadiness and skill. The part taken by Richard Deane in this action is not recorded, but the time was not distant when he was no longer to play an obscure though still important part in the great contest, whose remarkable feature was, that no deserving officer was left unrewarded. But few made such rapid advances in the service as Richard Deane; and hence we may reasonably infer that few, in the opinion of Fairfax and Cromwell, deserved better of the Parliament.

The chief result of the second battle of Newbury was the conviction that unless some effectual reform were made in the constitution and discipline of the army it would not long stand against the impetuosity of the Cavaliers. The man who made this discovery was OLIVER CROMWELL; and he was not slow in carrying it out to the desired end. His well-known remonstrance that they wanted "better stuff than broken-down tapsters and pitiful serving men" to meet the gentlemen of England in the field, was, fortunately for the Cause, received with attention. The ranks of the army were recruited from a superior class of men; and a well-considered organisation made up for deficiency of "blood."

Cromwell had great faith in "blood," and, next to "blood," in discipline. His own Ironsides were an instance of it. "He had a brave regiment of horse," says Whitelocke, "of his own countrymen (of Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire), most of

them freeholders or freeholders' sons, and who upon matter of conscience engaged in the quarrel; and thus, being well armed within by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without by good iron arms, they would, as one man, stand firmly and charge desperately."

The estimation in which the nobility of this period were held, by the severer critics of the times, is amusingly displayed in the tract "*Respublica Anglicana*," which was written by "G. W." in 1648, against Clement Walker's *History of Independency*, and in defence of the army which ejected the Parliament. Comparing the modern with the ancient nobles, he says: "Those generous soules were a terror and curb to tyrants, not their creatures and slavish instruments; as depending upon their own worth and country's lawes, not mere King's creatures. Their principles of education led them to be lords over, not apes unto the French; and he was accounted the bravest lord who conquered most of their men, not the finest that followed most of their fashions. Scars were the ornaments of a noble face, not black patches; and hair powdered with dust and dewed with sweat and blood, not with perfumed powders and gesmin butter, was the dress wherein England's nobles courted their mistress *Heroick Fame*. They designed their hawking and hunting to enable them in knowledge of passages and ridings—not themselves to be falckeners and huntsmen, whereby to learn to swear more readily. Their lands were let

at easie rates, with some services reserved, whereby their tenants, being able men, might not be broken spirited, and also might be obliged to attend them when their country's service called them forth; hence came England's valiant yeomanrie, and her bold Barons, who, by frequent Parliaments, knew how to manage great councils, perform worthy actions, restrain and curb tyrannical monarchs. These men were rather a spurre than a bridle to the Commons in all good actions."

"*G. W.*" in the above amusing passage, picks out an especial case to serve his own present purpose. He would, probably, have been as unwilling as any courtier of Charles to exchange the "slavery" of the seventeenth century for the "liberty" of the fifteenth, when the feudal lord whom he so admires could, and upon very slight provocation would, have hung him up as an "example," upon one of his apple trees. The nobles of Charles might have been "apes of the French" in fashions; but many of them also imitated them in better things—in devoted loyalty to the Crown, and in unflinching valour in the field.

The reform which presented itself to Cromwell as absolutely necessary was not only in the character of the privates, but also in that of the officers of the army, and especially of those on the staff. His ideal of a regimental officer is forcibly shown in his letter to Fairfax about this time; "I had rather have a plaine russet-coated captaine that knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows,

than that which you call a 'gentleman,' and who is nothing else."*

The greatest difficulty which Fairfax and Cromwell encountered in the formation of the new model, was the Parliamentary interest of the chief officers of the existing army, many of whom were Members of Parliament, or had influential connections in the House of Commons. To obviate this difficulty, Cromwell hit upon the device of THE SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE, of which the ingeniously invented title was not the least effective part. The power of a well-chosen epithet is incalculable. "To give a dog a bad name is to hang him," says the old proverb—and it is equally useful to give him a good one; as none know better than the politicians of our days, in which, under the name of "*Liberal*," the most illiberal and tyrannical actions may be performed, not only with impunity, but with public approbation.

A "voluntary" resignation of commands in the army by men "who might serve their country more advantageously in Parliament," was proposed, and readily accepted by the timid or indolent. The courageous and ambitious, being left in a minority, were charged with selfishness, and rendered unpopular; and thus the great object of the "*self-denial*" was achieved in the elimination of the Earls of Manchester, Stamford, and other lords and Parliamentary aristocrats, out of their commands, and in the ultimate elevation of Oliver Cromwell

* From a letter formerly in the possession of Mr. Dawson Turner.

to the virtual command-in-chief, although nominally he was only second to Sir Thomas Fairfax. It was true, and by his opponents and enviers strongly urged, that Cromwell, as a Member of Parliament, ought to be included in the ordinance—and so he was by his own voluntary and modest resignation; but, somehow or other, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and “the public voice,” demanded his reinstatement—and Oliver Cromwell was appointed Lieutenant-General of Horse in the New Model. Thus the first step of the Republican party of THOROUGH was gained.

II. Fairfax and Cromwell, now supreme in command, and armed with full powers to remodel the army, began by removing all such officers as had failed in intelligence, energy, or activity, or were personal friends and partisans of the superseded generals. Almost all the principal officers of the old army—generals, colonels, and lieutenant-colonels—were changed; the exceptions being so few as to be not worth notice. SKIPPON, whose skill and gallantry were indispensable, was retained, and raised to the rank of *Major-General of the Army*—a position which, if we may judge by his place in the staff of Sir Thomas Fairfax, made him second in command; but Cromwell, who stands third, as Lieutenant-General of horse, was in reality next in power to the LORD GENERAL. All the other staff officers of the Earls of Essex and Manchester were dismissed, and even the commissaries

were changed. All the engineers, except one—Mr. *Lyon*, and all the artillery officers, except RICHARD DEANE, were sent adrift, and their vacancies filled up with new names. One or two subordinate officers of the commissariat and ammunition service—such as Phipps—were retained, because they had proved themselves competent to their duties; but the change, generally, was so great as to be virtually complete. Even the civil functionaries were displaced—a new judge-advocate, a new secretary, and (with one exception, that of *Hugh Peters*) new chaplains were substituted. And it must be confessed that the changes were not only complete, but also most advantageous to the service.

Of the twenty officers who signed the "*Attestation concerning the disaster in Cornwall*," only seven reappeared in the New Model, and all these were promoted to higher ranks, viz.: Skippon, Francis, *Deane*, Moor, Ingoldesby, Fortescue, and Pride; from which we may infer that these were the minority who supported Skippon's gallant resolution in the council of war—of cutting their way through the King's army. Lieutenant-Colonels Fortescue and Ingoldesby were made colonels, and obtained regiments. Francis, who was a major under the Earl of Essex, was made lieutenant-colonel of Skippon's, and Major Pride promoted to be lieutenant-colonel of Harley's, regiment. Moor, the senior captain of "dragoons," was made major; and *Richard Deane*, from a subaltern of artillery

was made a captain and *Comptroller of the Ordnance*—a position which seems to have been equivalent to that of a lieutenant-colonel in the army.

Of the precise duties of a “Comptroller of the Ordnance” I have not been able to find any description; but from an Order in Council of July 4, 1649, in reference to Captain Edward Tomkyns, Comptroller of the Ordnance in Ireland, it appears that his duties were not confined to the care and ordering of the guns and *matériel* of the artillery, but he was also required to purchase horses for it.

The train of artillery under the control of Richard Deane was provided with necessaries by Order of Council January 164 $\frac{4}{5}$, out of the chest and silver vessels belonging to St. Paul’s Cathedral, which were “to be sold to the best advantage.”* The guns were of brass, which was considered the best metal for the purpose in those days, and cast in England by foreign founders or their English pupils.

The English were among the first to cast cannon, and did so in the reign of Edward III.; but the art was afterwards so much improved on the Continent that in 1626 King Charles sent for *Arnold Rotispan*, a celebrated German or Dutch cannon founder, to whom he granted a patent for fourteen years “to make guns of all sorts, both great and small, after a new way or manner not formerly

* Dean Milman’s *Hist. of St. Paul’s*, 348.

practised by any within these dominions.”* It was from this foundry that both the armies of the King and of the Parliament were chiefly supplied in 1642.

The New Model was composed of twelve regiments of foot, of which two were attached to the train; ten regiments of horse, of six troops each; and one of dragoons of ten troops. Two companies of “firelocks,” and one of “pioneers,” guarded the train of artillery; and a corps of one hundred “gentlemen” formed the body-guard of the Lord General. The army thus completed consisted of 15,000 infantry, 7,000 horse, 1,000 dragoons, and fifty pieces of ordnance.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, being appointed Lord General, was summoned to the House of Commons to receive his commission in person: a chair was placed for him, but he modestly refused to occupy it, and remained standing, while “the Speaker told him somewhat of *Agamemnon* and of the old *Romans*, which (slyly remarks Whitelocke) I have forgotten!”

The House approved of the list of officers presented by Fairfax March 3rd, 164 $\frac{4}{5}$, and on the 5th of the same month accepted that of the Ordinance, and confirmed the appointment of RICHARD DEANE as Comptroller; and on the 16th March the Bill received the sanction of the Lords.

The army, thus new modelled, was placed under the drilling of Major-General Skippon at Windsor;

* Grose's *Hist. of the Army*, i: 385.

and so indefatigably did that able officer labour in his duty, that on the 30th of April, 1645, he reported the troops fit for active service, and on the 1st May the army marched to Reading. The "fitness" was, of course, only comparative—it could not pretend to equal that of the Trained Bands of London, but might be supposed to equal, if not surpass, that of the King's army, which was notoriously less amenable to discipline, although composed of better materials.

The head quarters of the King, and his *depôt* of artillery, were at Oxford; and the first idea of Fairfax was to bring the war to a close by a determined attack upon that city, and with this object he put his army in motion. But on arriving at Reading he was informed of the distress of Taunton, then closely besieged by the Royalists, and in great danger of being taken. As many of the best friends of the Parliament were in that town—Somersetshire being one of the counties most forward in THE CAUSE—Fairfax was ordered by the Council of War in London to leave a detachment under Cromwell before Oxford, and to march himself to the relief of Taunton. He proceeded, accordingly, with such rapidity by forced marches that on the 7th of May he reached Blandford, where an express from Cromwell overtook him with the information that the King had come out of Oxford in force, and had taken a northward direction towards Chester, where his chief strength lay; and that the success of THE CAUSE depended

upon his being immediately pursued and brought to a decisive action.

Upon this intelligence Fairfax, sending forward a division of four regiments of infantry and four of cavalry under Colonel Weldon to relieve Taunton, turned back again with the remainder of his army to the support of Cromwell, whom he joined at Newbury.

The arrival of Colonel Weldon on the 14th at Taunton was timely and welcome to the gallant colonel, Robert Blake—the future great admiral, who was reduced to almost the last extremity. He had just repulsed a desperate assault, and was expecting another, with an exhausted garrison and diminished hopes, when Weldon and his little army appeared, and the enemy, alarmed at the unexpected relief, raised the siege. Fairfax and Cromwell in the meantime, with united forces, and in high hope of finishing the war at one stroke, marched in pursuit of the King, but they had scarcely gone a day's march than an order from the "*Committee of both Kingdoms*" arrived, enjoining them to immediately invest Oxford, which was now defenceless. A more mischievous interference could hardly have been suggested by the worst enemy of The Cause. This "Committee" was a pernicious body of Members of Parliament who thought—as Parliamentary Committees in their "*wisdom*" always do think—that they knew better than their own generals how to conduct a campaign. To the urgent remonstrances of Fairfax

they only replied by a reiteration of their own order, and the generals, who had not yet emancipated themselves from the degradation of civil control, felt themselves bound to obey. They arrived under the walls of Oxford on the 22nd of May, and lay before them fifteen days, utterly unable to do anything for want of siege guns, for which they had to send to Windsor. If the "Committee" had had the common sense to dispatch a messenger to Windsor for those guns at the same time that they recalled Fairfax from his pursuit of the King, their object might possibly have been effected; but this omission was of the gravest consequence, for, while the generals were wasting precious time before Oxford, intelligence reached them that the King, having relieved Chester, had marched to Leicester, which he had assaulted and carried by storm after a short but vigorous bombardment. This unwelcome news was accompanied by the exasperating addition that the Royalists had inflicted great cruelties upon the garrison and inhabitants.*

The Committee, now seriously alarmed, gave way to the wishes of their generals, who raised the siege of Oxford and resumed their pursuit of the King; who on his part, flushed with success and equally eager to bring matters to a speedy issue, turned back to meet the Parliamentarians. The

* Thompson's *History of Leicester*. Among the prisoners was *John Bunyan*, the celebrated author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. He was at this time a private soldier in the service of the Parliament.

siege of Oxford was raised on the 5th of June, and on the 14th of the same month the opposing armies met on the decisive field of NASEBY.

The superstition of the age is curiously exemplified, in anticipation of this battle, in the grave person of the lawyer Bulstrode Whitelocke, who, five days before the fight, met the astrologer Lilly in the street, "Who asked him the (truth of the) news, of the armies being near one another." "I told him," says Whitelocke, "it was true, and that they were very likely to engage." He replied, "If they do not engage before the 11th of this month the Parliament will have the greatest victory that they ever yet had." "*And so it proved accordingly!*"

The cunning astrologer was not without a warrant for this "prophecy," for he was probably aware that if Fairfax joined battle before the 11th he would do so without Cromwell, and thereby lose one great chance of victory. Cromwell, who had been for some days absent from the army, rejoined it on the very morning of the battle, and was mainly instrumental to its success.

III. The battle of Naseby has been so often described that it would be superfluous to repeat the description, except in a memoir of the man whose peculiar command had no small share in its result, for, but for the determined stand made by the Parliamentarian artillery when charged by the impetuous and hitherto victorious Rupert, the

gallantry of Cromwell and the almost superhuman exertions of Fairfax and Skippon might have been of no avail.

The village of Naseby in Northamptonshire stands upon an eminence said to be the highest ground in England, and in the very centre of it, about midway between Market Harborough and Daventry; and a field about a mile northward is the spot upon which the battle was fought.

The two armies were nearly equal in numbers, and the ground equally favourable to both. They were drawn up on opposite ridges about a mile and a half apart, with a common between them, which, but for innumerable rabbit holes and molehills, would have been an excellent field for the evolutions of cavalry. As it was, both Rupert and Cromwell made good use of it, and covered it with the bodies of their respective enemies.

The King's army consisted of three "*tertias*" of foot, each "*tertia*" constituting a brigade of three regiments.

The first *tertia* was commanded by Sir Bernard Astley, the second by Colonel George Lisle, and the third by Sir Henry Bard. The regiments composing the first and third *tertias* are not named by R. Symonds, from whose diary I have taken these particulars, but Lisle's, Gilby's, and Owen's regiments formed the second *tertia*, and the Life Guards, in which Symonds himself was a private, were under the orders of General the Earl of Lindsey, son of the heroic earl who fell at Edge-

hill, and, under him, of Colonel Layton and Major Markham.

This regiment of Life Guards was composed of six troops of horse, each under its own "cornet," or standard, and distinguished by the following colours, in which the arms of the captain were, in some instances, impaled with the Cross of St. George, as those of a Bishop are with the arms of his See.

TROOP.

- | | | | | |
|----|---------|----------------------|---|---|
| 1. | Argent, | the cross of George, | gules—impaling gu. a lion rampant or. " <i>Dieu et mon Droit.</i> " | |
| 2. | " | " | " | impaling gu. a rose or, surmounted by a royal crown or. |
| 3. | " | " | " | impaling two roses in pale, each surmounted by a royal crown. |
| 4. | " | " | " | impaling gules, a griffin segreant or. |
| 5. | " | no impalement. | | |
| 6. | " | no impalement. | | |

Prince Rupert commanded the right wing of horse, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left wing, to which were attached the Newark horse. These were opposed by Ireton on the left, and Cromwell on the right, of the Parliamentarians.

The command of Ireton included his own regiment and those of Colonels Vermuyden, Rich, Butler, Fleetwood, and "the Association." They were drawn up three deep, in just apprehension of

the impetuosity of Rupert's charge, but a vain precaution against it.

Sir Thomas Fairfax and Major-General Skippon were in the centre with their infantry, which consisted of the following regiments :—

The Lord General's	}	constituting the right centre.
Montagu's		
Pickering's	}	,, left centre.
Skippon's		
Sir H. Waller's		
Pride's.		

The right centre was supported by two regiments—Hammond's and Rainsborough's; the left centre by only a part of Pride's regiment, and was, consequently, the weak point of the army, but as their flanking horse were in much greater strength than those on the right flank the position was deemed secure. How far this was from being the case will presently appear.

The train of artillery was placed on Mill Hill—which was little more than rising ground—in rear of the left wing, so as to fire over the heads of the infantry, if necessary; and each *tertia* was, moreover, flanked by two field pieces. This arrangement was an additional support to the left centre, and an additional compliment to Rupert, whose charge was expected upon this quarter.

Such was the order of battle, which, with slight modifications, was the same on both sides. For, in those days of simple hand to hand fighting, there was not much room for strategy, and very little, if

any, was ever attempted. Battles were usually won by sheer force of arms.

Prince Rupert, as usual, began the battle with a furious charge of his whole right wing of horse, and as usual broke through and scattered the three lines of Ireton's horse opposed to him, riding over the extreme left centre of the Parliamentary infantry at the same time. It would have been well for the unfortunate King if Rupert had now checked his men, wheeled round, and taken Fairfax in the rear, in which case nothing could have saved the Parliamentarians from a decisive defeat. But carried on, as always, by his own impetuosity, Rupert rushed up the slope upon which the baggage train and artillery were drawn up, under the protection of a select body of "firelocks," and all under the command of the Comptroller RICHARD DEANE.

Rupert, being a-head of his victorious horsemen, was seen dimly, through the smoke of the battle, by the officer in command of the "firelocks" (who might, for aught we know to the contrary, have been the Comptroller himself), and having a general's sash round his body, and a red Montero cap upon his head, was mistaken for Sir Thomas Fairfax. But let Secretary Rushworth, who was present, and saw and heard all that passed on the occasion, tell the remarkable tale:—"A party of their horse, that broke through the left wing of ours, came quite behind the rear to our train. The leader of them being a person somewhat in the habit of the General, in a red Montero, as the

General had, our commander of the guard of the train went with his hat in his hand, and asked him ‘*How the day went?*’ thinking that it had been the General. The Cavalier, *who we since heard was Rupert*, asked him and the rest if they would have ‘*Quarter?*’ They cried ‘*No!*’ gave fire, and instantly beat them back. It was a happy deliverance.”

The time thus lost by Rupert enabled Fairfax to rally his broken left centre of infantry, which had shared in the disaster of Ireton’s horse, and to rescue Ireton himself, who was wounded and a prisoner, and to relieve Skippon, who had received a cannon ball which had shattered his armour and inflicted a deep and dangerous wound in his side.

The horsemen of Rupert, disordered by the fire of the artillery and its guard of firelocks, galloped back to the field of battle, but it was too late; for not only had Fairfax rallied his infantry, but Cromwell had charged with his “*Ironsides*,” and had carried everything before him, breaking through Langdale’s horse and crushing the indomitable *blue tertia* of the King, which stood while all around them were flying.

As a last hope, the King, who was never wanting to himself on the field of battle, called upon his Life Guards, and the shattered remnant of Rupert’s horse which had now rejoined him, to charge—“*One charge more, gentlemen, and the day is ours!*” —but in vain! The fire of Rupert was burnt out, and the Life Guards hesitated. “*Would you go*

upon instant death?" cried the Earl of Carnwath to the King, and seizing the bridle of his horse hurried him off the field—and the battle of Naseby was over.

It had been gained by the steadiness of the artillery, by the gallantry of Cromwell, and by the indefatigable exertions of Sir Thomas Fairfax, whose courage and conduct were worthy of his renown. Bareheaded—for his helmet had been knocked off in the *mêlée*—he galloped about the field, rallying and encouraging his men, and leading them on to fresh dangers. Seeing a compact body of Royalists still unbroken, he called upon Colonel D'Oyley to charge them. D'Oyley had already charged them twice without effect. Fairfax insisted upon a third attempt in front, while he attacked them, with such troops as he could collect, in the rear. The order was obeyed, and they charged simultaneously, and breaking through the ranks of the Royalists met in the middle of the square, where Fairfax killed an ensign with his own hand, and captured the flag, which he handed over to one of D'Oyley's troopers. The man afterwards, boasting of the exploit as his own, was severely reprimanded by D'Oyley, who reported him to Fairfax for punishment. "*I have had honour enough,*" said the generous Lord General, "*let him take that honour to himself.*"*

Cromwell chased the fugitives fourteen miles, and did not draw the rein until he came under the

* Whitelocke.

fire of the walls of Leicester. The garrison of that town had obtained an unfortunate notoriety for their cruelty towards the prisoners of war taken at the previous storming; and this report, whether just or not, had a considerable effect upon the victors of Naseby, who gave little or no quarter in the pursuit. They are charged, among other acts of atrocity, with putting to death above one hundred Irishwomen who had followed the Royal army as soldiers' wives. The slaughter of these women is admitted by the Parliamentarians, and justified by the excuse that they were not the wives of the soldiers, but abandoned women, armed with long knives, with which they had been in the habit, in former battles gained by the Royalists, of murdering the wounded and robbing them as they lay on the field. But Sprigge mentions a circumstance which, if true, may have gone far to exasperate the Parliamentarian soldiers and the peasantry of the country against the Irish:—"We came that night (13th) to Gilling, the country people much rejoicing at our coming, having been miserably plundered by the enemy, and some having had their children taken from them and sold before their faces to the Irish of that army, whom the parents were forced to redeem with the price of money." This may, in some degree, explain the vindictive ferocity of the Parliamentarians on the next day.

The loss of the Royalists in this battle was enormous. No less than five thousand were taken

* *England's Recovery*, p. 32.

prisoners, among whom were six colonels, eight lieutenant-colonels, eighteen majors, and seventy captains, one hundred and sixty subalterns, and above two hundred non-commissioned officers, besides all the personal and household servants of the King. The whole of the train of artillery, two mortars, eight thousand stand of arms, and forty barrels of powder fell into the hands of the victors. No victory could be more complete.

The King's colours were taken and retaken. The Duke of York's standard remained in the possession of the captors, and also six of his regimental colours; four of the Queen's, and nearly an hundred others, both of the horse and foot.

But the most important prize of all was the King's carriage, containing his cabinet of letters and copies of letters. Of this correspondence the Parliament made an instant and ungenerous use, by publishing, and probably garbling, their contents. Those letters which were written by the King were highly creditable to his heart as a husband and father, but not so favourable to the *Sovereign*, whom they exhibited in the character of a reserved and cautious man, which his enemies interpreted as that of an artful and insincere one. It was, therefore, eagerly spread abroad that no terms could be made with such a dissembler, who would keep none; that no treaty with him was safe, and that the only hope left to the Parliament was in carrying on the war to extremities.

The loss on the side of the Parliament, in killed

and wounded, was actually greater than that of the King, for Rupert's charge had been attended with its usual slaughter; and for the first part of the day the Royalists had been successful, both on the left wing and left centre of their opponents. Nothing but the indomitable courage of Skippon, who although severely wounded would not leave the field, and the untiring activity of Fairfax in repeatedly rallying his broken infantry, could have kept that part of the army from annihilation. As it was, the loss of life was very great in proportion to the numbers engaged—but more so among the men than the officers, of whom only one lieutenant-colonel and six captains were killed. But two generals, Skippon and Ireton, were wounded, and the latter was for some time, a prisoner. He ultimately escaped, through the connivance of the man who had been left in charge of him. Sprigge says that upon the defeat of the King's army Ireton "exchanged himself with his keeper." It is to be hoped that he gave him something considerable to equalize the exchange. We can guess the subsequent fate of the good-natured or avaricious soldier if ever the transaction came to the ears of Rupert.

The victory was celebrated in the City of London by a dinner given to the Houses of Parliament in Grocers' Hall; and "after dinner the whole Company sung the Forty-sixth Psalm."

The prisoners, 4,500 in number, were marched into London on the 25th of June, with the captured colours borne before them in triumph. It

is a pity that this degradation could not have been spared to these gallant and unfortunate men; but the animosities of civil war are beyond the reach of reason and humanity, and to such men as the after-dinner singers of the Forty-sixth Psalm the Royalists were but as Philistines or Edomites.

IV. Two days after the victory of Naseby, Fairfax sat down before Leicester, and his engineers erected a battery against its walls; in this battery they placed two demi-cannons and a culverin, which had been taken from the Royalists at Naseby; and they were the same that had been planted in the same battery against the town when occupied by the Parliamentarians only a fortnight before! Such are the curious vicissitudes of war.

Leicester being surrendered by capitulation, Fairfax marched a second time Westward to the relief of Taunton, now a second time besieged by the whole Western forces of the King; and in addition to its former garrison under Blake including the 5,000 men sent for its relief under Colonel Weldon, who had been compelled to take refuge behind its battered walls. The case was urgent, and correspondingly active were the movements of Fairfax. On the 29th of June he entered Marlborough, on the 30th he was quartered at Amesbury, and on the 1st of July his army "being drawn to a *rendezvous* at a place called *Stonage*, marched in battalia across Salisburie Plaine."*

* *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 60.

It is a fortunate circumstance that Taunton was so hard pressed at this time, for otherwise the iconoclastic zeal of the soldiers, excited by the preaching of Hugh Peters and his colleagues, against the "monuments of heathenism," might have left us little to admire of Stonehenge, except its fragments.

Here they received alarming news from Salisbury of the rising of the CLUBMEN against General Massey. These "Clubmen," so called from the bludgeons which they carried, were the country people, who under the pretext of self-protection had been collected in large numbers, and reduced to some kind of discipline by their landlords or parochial clergy. Being almost to a man Royalists, they threatened to be very troublesome to the Parliamentarians, notwithstanding they displayed in the face of both armies indifferently the flag of ostentatious neutrality, inscribed—

"If you offer to plunder, or take our cattle,
Be ye assured we will give you battle."*

This association of Clubmen, if properly managed, might have been made very advantageous to the King's cause, but no one of the King's party seems to have understood them, and there was no one to drill or lead them. "They were so strong," says Sprigge," and withal so confident of their strength, at that time, that it was held a point of prudence to be fair in demeanour towards them for awhile,

* *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 60.

for if in case we should engage with Goring, and our men be put to the rout, these Clubmen would be more cruel than the enemy, and knock our men on the head as they should fly for safety." The Parliamentarians seem to have understood the Clubmen better than the Royalists did, and had no faith in their pretended neutrality.

The Wiltshire Clubmen, pacified for a time by Fairfax, were, after his retirement from that part of the country, wrought upon by the clergymen of their respective parishes, and began to show their anti-Parliamentarian predilections so unmistakeably, that Cromwell, with his usual tact in anticipating opportunities, would not wait for any overt act of hostility, but fell upon a body of them at Shrewton on the 4th of August, and, killing and wounding above 400, scattered the remainder, and removed one cause of alarm from the rear of the advancing army. Among the victims of this attack were several rectors and vicars of parishes, especially the Incumbent of Compton, named Bravel, who commanded the Clubmen, and "who kept them to their posts by threatening to pistol those that gave back." Had his knowledge of military drill and discipline been equal to his courage, Cromwell might have found a much more formidable enemy in these rustics; as it was, Cromwell lost two officers and several men in this inglorious conflict, but considered the loss a small one in comparison with the advantage gained by the dispersion of such dangerous hangers-on upon the rear of a marching army.

V. On the approach of Sir Thomas Fairfax, Goring raised the siege of Taunton, and retired to Langport, where he took up a position and offered battle—which was accepted. The two armies confronted each other on the 7th of July with equal forces, and not unequal chances of victory—for although the Parliamentarians were flushed with the successes of Naseby and Leicester, yet the Royalists were fresh, and, being in great part recruits of the West Country, miners of Somerset and Cornwall, were strong and hardy men; and many of them had shared in the triumph of the preceding year, when the army of the Earl of Essex laid down their arms at Fowey.

The Royalists began the action by bringing forward their artillery and a strong body of infantry, with the latter of which they lined the hedges, and prepared to dispute the passage of the river Ivel, which gives name to Ivel-chester or Ilchester—the Roman *Ischalis*, and birth-place of *Roger Bacon*.

Fairfax immediately threw forward “a Forlorn Hope of horse and foot,” and drew up his ordnance to places of advantage,* making the best use of the little rising ground which his side of the river afforded. He intended these movements only as feints, to prevent the Royalists from advancing any further, for he was weakened by having lately detached a body of horse and 2,000 musketeers to the support of General Massey, who was reported to be engaged with Goring’s cavalry at Long

* Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*.

Sutton. “*But the officer in command of the artillery,*” observing a favourable opportunity, “began to play a good while before the foot engaged, doing great execution upon the body of the enemy’s army, both horse and foot, who stood in good order upon the hill, about a musket-shot from the pass, and forced them to draw off their ordnance and remove their horse.”*

Fairfax, following up the impression thus unexpectedly made, attacked the Royalists in force, and compelled them to a retreat, which soon became a precipitate rout. The Parliamentarian cavalry, under Major Bethel, who commanded the Forlorn Hope of horse, pursued them for eight miles, and to within two miles of Bridgewater, and gave them no time to rally and face about.

This battle was very disastrous to the Royalists. They lost in prisoners alone 1,200 horse, and 1,400 foot. Two colonels, one of them being Colonel Slingsby, who was their General of Ordnance, were taken, besides thirty colours of regiments.

The Parliamentarians lost no officers, and only about twenty men killed;† but Major Bethel was wounded, being shot through the hand, and the army was for some time deprived of the services of this excellent officer, whose regiment, one of the most fanatical of the whole army, was also the one most frequently called upon to furnish Forlorn Hopes, and always justified the selection.

The battle, or rather chase, of Langport, was the

* Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*.

† Ibid.

most cheaply gained victory of the whole war. This was owing, as we have seen, to the excellent practice of the artillery, which at the very beginning of the engagement so disorganised the enemy that they could not recover their formation before they were charged by the forlorn hopes of horse and foot, thrown forward by Fairfax in the very nick of time. This prompt seizure of an unlooked-for opportunity proved Fairfax to be the general which fame had reported him to be, when he was selected by the Parliament to be put at the head of their armies. But the *general* was indebted for his opportunity to the "officer in command of his artillery," and this officer was *The Comptroller*, RICHARD DEANE, who renewed at Langport the character which he had gained at Naseby. It is, probably, to this successful action that Sprigge alludes, when, in speaking of the part which Richard Deane afterwards bore at the siege of Sherborne Castle, he says — "in the reduction of which place, *as elsewhere*, the dexterity, industry, and resolution of Captain Deane, Comptroller of the Ordnance, deserves to be had in memory."

VI. From the field of Langport the army marched to the siege of Bridgewater, into which town a considerable part of Goring's army had thrown themselves, and thus strengthened a garrison already sufficiently numerous to stand a siege.

On the 10th of July the Parliamentary army,

* *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 87.

including the train of artillery, was drawn up upon West Moor, two miles from the walls of Bridgewater. The next morning Fairfax and Cromwell personally reconnoitred the fortifications, and found them stronger than they expected. For the town was situated on a plain, "there being not a clod that could afford any advantage against the place." The fortifications were regular, the ditch deep and wide, "and for a great part of the town filled, every tide, up to the brim with water." The ground within the lines was sufficiently contracted to allow of its being easily defended by the garrison which occupied it. There was, besides, a castle upon which forty pieces of cannon were mounted, which swept all the approaches to the town.

The difficulties of the assault appeared to be so great, that the general called a council of war, which sat from the 16th to the 19th of July in earnest deliberation. Councils of war are, proverbially, cautious and pacific. Few generals call one who have not already made up their minds to treat or to retreat. This, however, was not the characteristic of Fairfax, who, as Whitelocke informs us, never scrupled to depart from the decision of a council of war, if it was too pacific for his own views. In the present instance the council was as warlike as he could desire. It was all for action, and only deliberated upon the best means of action—whether to reduce the town by a blockade, or to carry it by storm. It was decided to adopt the latter; for the Royalists having been

repulsed by Blake from Taunton, it must not be said that the Parliamentarians had shared a similar fate at Bridgewater. The place *must* be taken—the ultimate prospects of the campaign depended upon the vigour now to be displayed by the troops of the Parliament. If they failed here, the war might be greatly, and perhaps disastrously, prolonged.

The assault being resolved upon, Hammond, the lieutenant-general of the ordnance, gave orders for the construction of eight bridges, of between thirty and forty feet each in length, to span the ditch. These being ready, the hour for the assault was fixed at daybreak on Monday, the 21st of July. The regiments of Weldon, Ingoldesbye, Fortescu, Herbert, Birch, and Massey, were appointed to storm on the Devonshire side of the town, under the command of General Massey; those of Fairfax, Cromwell, Pickering, Montagu, Waller, Harley, Rainsborough, and Hammond, were to attack on the Somersetshire side. The intervening Sunday was to be “improved” by the chaplains. The manner in which this part of the duties was performed is thus related by the author of *Anglia Rediviva*:—

“Mr. Peters in the forenoon preached a preparation sermon, to encourage the soldiers to go on. Mr. Bowles did the same in the afternoon. After both sermons the drums beat, and the army was drawn out into the field. The commanders of the Forlorn Hope who were to begin the storm and the soldiers, being drawn together in the field, were there also afresh exhorted to do their duties with undaunted courage

and resolution by Mr. Peters, who did it, as one says of him, '*tam Marte quam Mercurio.*' "

This employment of the chaplains was one to which both parties resorted with success. The chaplains did not consider their duties done when the men marched out of camp to battle, but accompanied them to see that their exhortations had been effectual, and to succour and comfort the wounded and distressed. The soldiers, also, as naturally looked for their spiritual comforters to encourage them in their advances as for their trumpeters to sound the charge. We are told by Vicars how at Edgehill "Masters Marshall,* Ask, Moreton, Sedgwick, and Wilkins, eminently pious and learned pastors, rode up and down the army, through the thickest dangers, and in much personal hazard, most faithfully and courageously exhorting and encouraging the souldiers to fight valiantly for their religion, laws, and Christian liberties."†

In like manner, while Hugh Peters was riding through the ranks at Naseby, "with the Bible in one hand and a pistol in the other," the chaplains of the Royal army were administering the Holy Sacrament to the King, his officers, and men,

* "Master Marshall" was one of the five Presbyterian clergymen whose initials formed the word "*Smectymnuus*" so freely used in the controversies of their times, viz. :—

Stephen Marshall,
Edmund Calamy,
Thomas Young,
Mathew Newcomm,
William Spurstow.

† Jehovah-Jireh.

under the fire of Cromwell's artillery, when a cannon ball, grazing the heel of the King's boot, struck the ground and bounded over their heads as they were kneeling!

Many of the clergy accepted commissions as captains in the King's army, and bore arms in the field of battle. Mew, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, was a captain of horse, and his portrait in St. John's College, Oxford, exhibits him with a black* patch over his face, to conceal a scar received in action. Lake, Hodgson, and many other clergymen, whose names are well known in history, served in the same army and in the same cause. And among these we find a *Henry Deane*, who may have been a relation of the subject of this memoir, who in 1661 petitioned Charles the Second for a living, on the ground that he had borne arms for the King, and lost property in the cause of Charles the First.†

“The spirit of the times,” which now strongly (or weakly) inclines to what it calls “Christianity,” but which our fathers would have called *cowardice*, condemns this conduct of military chaplains as foreign and derogatory to their sacred office; but we may be quite sure that the spirit of even our own soldiers would be disgusted at the pusillanimity of chaplains who told them “not to fear

* This black patch was an honest one, and actually covered a wound, and not like the “black patches” worn by the Bishop of Lincoln and his six chaplains in the wars of Edward the Third, “*until they had performed some gallant deed of arms.*”—See Froissart. Illustration to Johnes's Edition.

† S. P. O.

those who can slay only the body," and yet kept out of bodily danger themselves.

VII. The discharge of two guns at 2 A.M. on the 21st July, 1645, was the signal for the storming of Bridgewater. The Forlorn Hopes were led by Lieutenant-Colonel Hewson of "Pickering's;" and Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson of "The Lord General's," and Lieutenant-Colonel Ashfield of "Skippon's," were in support. The bridges constructed by the engineers were found to be perfect, and in a few minutes the storming party crossed the ditch, drove the Royalists from their batteries, and turned their own guns against them. They then let down the drawbridge, and Captain Reynolds, at the head of the Forlorn Hope of horse, rushed in and swept the streets of the enemy up to the drawbridge of the second or inner town. About 800 of the Royalists were taken.

This feat of Reynolds's horse is not practicable in our days of improved fortification and scientific defence. One example, however, is on record, which is worthy of being mentioned in honour of the gallant men who performed it. This was the attack on the entrenched camp of the Sikhs at Sobraon, when the Third Light Dragoons rode through a breach of the rampart in single file, and forming within the area of the camp charged a large body of the enemy so vigorously, that they broke and fled in all directions; and thus all appre-

hension of further resistance to the advancing infantry was at an end.

The defence of Bridgewater, notwithstanding the capture of the outer town, was still strenuously prolonged by the Royalists in the inner and in the Castle. "Our forces," says Sprigge, "had not been two hours in the first town, when the enemy shot granadoes and slugs of *hot iron*, and fired it on both sides, which by the next morning burned that part of the town of goodly buildings down to the ground, except three or four houses."

This "firing of hot slugs," however, was not confined to the garrison, for the besiegers' cannon also "played fiercely on the (inner) town; grana-
does were shot, and *slugs of hot iron* in abundance, whereby several houses in the town were fired."

Red-hot shot had been used two years before, by the Royalists, at the siege of Gloucester. "Their mortars," says Rushworth, "shot above twenty fiery red-hot bullets, some eighteen, some twenty pounds weight, which in the night appeared like shooting stars."*

But the *invention* is said to be two centuries older,† and first used in the civil wars of the Low Countries, 1452, when red-hot balls were fired by the citizens of Ghent and Oudenarde. Bridgewater was surrendered on the 23rd of July, and about 1,000 officers and soldiers, "besides gentlemen and

* Vol. ii. pt. iii. p. 289.

† Ch. de Lalaine, p. 293, cited by Sir W. Scott in his Diary.—Lockhart.

malignant clergy," marched out, and became prisoners of war. The only officer of any importance killed, on the side of the Parliament, was Mr. Martin, the paymaster of the train, who had his leg shattered, and afterwards cut off, of which he died. "He behaved himself valiantly."

The loss of the Parliamentarians might have been very serious—for they nearly lost their general from his ignorance of a tidal phenomenon so familiar to the inhabitants of the town that no one ever thought of warning him of it. He was standing in the bed of the river at low water, when he was suddenly caught by the "*eager*," as Sprigge calls it—that is, the *higre*, or "*bore*," for which that river is notorious, "and very narrowly escaped drowning."

VIII. Bridgewater being taken, Fairfax marched ten miles westward, when it occurred to him as imprudent to leave two such places as Bristol and Bath in his rear in possession of the enemy, besides Sherborne Castle, a stronghold, which might be dangerous by intercepting supplies, and becoming rallying points for the Clubmen of Wilts, Dorset, and Somerset. He, accordingly, counter-marched to Wells, and, on the 29th July, dispatched Colonel Okey's Dragoons to surprise Bath, and take it—which they did, without firing a shot, through the culpable neglect of the Royalists, who had withdrawn all but 140 men to their garrison of Bristol. Prince Rupert, with 1,500

men, appeared the next day before the walls, to find them occupied by Okey.

On the 2nd of August Colonel Fleetwood surprised a body of Clubmen at Shaftesbury, and captured fifty of their leaders; and on the next day Cromwell executed that bold feat at Shrewton, of which we have already taken notice by anticipation.

On the 5th of August the army sat down before Sherborne Castle; but it was soon discovered that regular approaches would be necessary. Miners from the Mendip Hills were, accordingly, sent for, who arrived on the 12th, and continued the mine which the soldiers had commenced. So rapid was their progress that in two days they penetrated under the rock upon which one of the principal towers of the Castle stood. Batteries of cannon and demi-cannon had been, in the meantime, mounted; and by the 14th were ready for use, under the direction of the Comptroller, *Richard Deane*.

At 11 A.M. August 14, the great guns opened fire, and by 6 P.M. had made a breach between two towers wide enough for ten men abreast to enter, besides beating down one of the towers. "On this occasion," says Sprigge, "the great adventurousness of many of the soldiers comes fitly to be remembered, who (whilst our cannon played hard upon the Castle and wanted shot) fetched off the bullets that we had shot from under the enemy's walls, and had sixpence for every bullet they so

brought off, which were worth so much to the service at that time. They brought back about 200 cannon, demi-cannon, and culverin shot."

Among the remarkable incidents of this siege, it was noted that a gunner in the Castle shot several of the Parliamentary officers and men with that apparently insignificant weapon a common fowling-piece. Two captains of Rainsborough's regiment, one of whom was Captain Horsey, a gentleman of Sherborne, fell victims to the unerring marksman. Captain Horsey was buried with military honours in Sherborne church, which was the burial-place of his family.

After losing two of their officers, and two of their best gunners by the hand of this fatal fowler, the Parliamentarians, under Colonel Ingoldesbye, succeeded in scaling a tower at one of the corners of the castle, from the top of which his musketeers, by a fortunate volley, killed the too skilful marksman.

On Friday, August 15, the assault was delivered. The soldiers, running forward with 6,000 faggots, filled up a portion of the ditch in front of the breach, and, rushing over them, stormed the breach, out of which most of the defenders had been driven by the fire of Ingoldsbye from the tower which he had taken.

The courtyard of the castle being thus gained, and the mine under the great tower being ready for explosion, the governor pulled down the red flag of defiance which he had rashly hoisted, and ran up a

white one for a parley, which terminated in the surrender of the castle "at discretion." The lives of the garrison were spared, but all their property was given up to plunder, "and stripped they were to the purpose."

John Bingham (whose family still ranks as a county family in Dorsetshire), writing to his "honoured friends, Edmund Prideaux and Denis Bond, Esquires," gives a similar testimony to the effectual plundering described with so much unction by Sprigge: "You may be assured Sherborne Castle is surrendered upon mercy for their lives. Few men were slain by the violence of the soldiers, and *as few unstript*—the soldiers plunder merrily."

More minute particulars respecting the progress of the siege are related by an officer who was present, in Tract No. 48 of the valuable collection of Tracts in the library of the London Institution: "In fourteen days' time we gained ground of the enemy by our approaches, and made galleries close to the walls, bridges over the moat, and drove a mine to the foundation of the wall, where we met with a rock which lost us a day's time. Things being in this forwardness, on Wednesday, August 7, the country was commanded to bring in ladders to scale the walls and outworks; the whole cannon and demi-cannon were planted within 20 yards of the wall. That night, as on other nights, the enemy had great lights of torches, links, &c. on the end of their pikes, to see if they could discover our

mine or works, and how our men stood, the better to shoot them, and threw over fired faggots, which (the first time they did it) fired our bridge, but our soldiers instantly quenched it and saved the bridge. Our soldiers and theirs did discourse all night and throw stones at each other. Our men tell *Jack Cab* that Prince Rupert hath turned suttler, and hath nothing but strong drink to comfort him."

Sir Lewis Dyves, the Governor, and his lady were the only two persons not plundered. The spirit of this lady is noticed by the writer of the "Relation" above cited. The Governor being absent when Fairfax sent his first summons, the drum was detained. "The Lady Dyves sends '*Not to come out,*' though the General had sent twice to offer it."

On the third day after its capture Sherborne Castle was "slighted," *i.e.* dismantled. It was on this occasion that great praise was given to the Comptroller, Captain Deane, for the manner in which he had conducted the siege operations: "Thus hath God led us into another strong hold of equal difficulty and consequence, in the reduction of which place, as elsewhere, the dexterity, industry, and resolution of Captain Deane, Comptroller of the Ordnance, deserves to be had in memory."

IX. From the siege of Sherborne Castle the army marched to a much more difficult undertaking—the siege of Bristol, held by Prince Rupert and a strong garrison. But the condition of that city

* *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 87.

was almost equally perilous to those who held and to those who attacked it, for the plague was raging within its walls, and carrying off an hundred victims weekly.

Many cogent reasons might have been advanced in a council of war for leaving Bristol at present to itself, and prosecuting the campaign in the West, where Goring was in force, and Plymouth, with an insufficient garrison, in great danger; but Fairfax concluded that a greater moral effect would be produced by the capture of Bristol.

On the 22nd of August all the posts necessary for completing the investment of the place on the Somersetshire side were occupied, and on the next day those on the Gloucestershire side were seized, thus cutting off all hopes of succour by land or water.

For the first four days the garrison made repeated sallies, but with little effect. That of the 24th might have been attended with much mischief if Colonel Rainsborough had not opportunely come up, in the midst of the fighting, and repulsed the assailants with the loss of Major Henry Deane, one of the leaders of the Royal horse.

Major Deane was a distant relation of the Comptroller, descended from the same branch of the family of the Deanes of Wallingford. He was originally in the service of the Parliament, and in R. Symonds's list of the King's army in 1644 is mentioned among the captains in Colonel William Neville's horse as having "*come from the Parlia-*

ment." He was engaged in the battle of Cropredy Bridge, June 30, 1644, and was probably the "Mr. Deane" who was the subject of the Order of the House of Commons, June 3, 1643—"It is ordered to seize £500 due to Mr. Deane, an ill-affected person, now in the army."

By a singular coincidence, the name of the trumpeter sent, on one occasion, from Bristol to Sir Thomas Fairfax, by Prince Rupert, was *Richard Deane*.*

X. On the 29th of August a solemn fast was held in the Parliamentary camp, "to seek God for a blessing upon the designs against Bristol. Mr. Dell and Mr. Peters kept the day at headquarters."

After these "exercises" a council of war was summoned, and, while it was sitting, news arrived from the North of the defeat of the Presbyterian army in Scotland by the Marquis of Montrose, who had pursued the fugitives as far as Edinburgh, and towards evening another messenger arrived with the information that the King was in full march to join Goring in the West; and that, when united, they intended to fall upon the besiegers of Bristol, and with the help of a simultaneous sally from the city to annihilate them.

Since the surrender of the army of Essex in Cornwall, matters had not been so serious as they were at that moment, and it required all the mili-

* *Life of Prince Rupert*, by Eliot Warburton.

tary skill of Fairfax, and all the natural sagacity of Cromwell, to meet the emergency. Their resolution was bold, and worthy of the occasion. It was determined to carry Bristol by storm at any sacrifice, and without any loss of time.

Fortunately for "the Cause," a letter from Goring at Exeter, to the Secretary Nicholas, at Oxford, was intercepted, in which he said that he could not reach Bristol for three weeks. Another fortunate event also occurred at the same time. Rupert, with his usual rashness, had headed a sixth sally, with 1,000 horse and 600 foot, and had been driven back with loss; and although Colonel Okey had been carried away by him a prisoner, yet the repulse of such a desperate sally and so commanded was a great encouragement to the Parliamentarians.

The order of the day was as follows:—

Colonel Weldon and his Taunton Brigade were to storm on the Somersetshire side in three places, viz. "200 men in the middle; and 200 on each side as Forlorn Hopes, were to begin the assault; 20 ladders, each carried by two men, who were to have five shillings a-piece, were to be planted against the wall; the two sergeants who attended the service of each ladder were to have twenty shillings. Twelve files of men with firearms and pikes were to follow each ladder to its place where it was to be planted. Each party of twelve was to be commanded by a captain and lieutenant, the lieutenant to go in first with five file, the captain to succeed with the other seven. The 200 men

appointed to second the stormers were to furnish each party of them with 20 pioneers, who were to march in their rear. The 200 men to be commanded by a field officer and the pioneers by a sergeant. The pioneers were to level the rampart or wall and make way for the horse. The party whose duty it was to make good the line were to take possession of the guns and turn them upon the enemy. A gentleman of the Ordnance, with gunners and matrosses, was to enter with the stormers; the drawbridge was to be let down, and two regiments and a half of foot were to storm in after the way was made.’’

The General’s brigade, under the command of Colonel Montagu,* and consisting of the General’s, Montagu’s, Pickering’s, and Waller’s regiments, were to storm on both sides of Lawford’s Gate, on the Gloucestershire side, in the same order as the Taunton Brigade on the Somersetshire side of the town. Both assaults were to begin at the same time.

In the above “General Orders” we note the employment of pioneers to throw down the ramparts in order to facilitate the entrance of horse. It seems surprising that the besieged could not provide against such simple contrivances as the levelling of the ramparts and the admission of cavalry within the lines. The fact was, that there was no regular corps of engineers in either army,

* Afterwards the celebrated Admiral Sir Edward Montagu, Earl of Sandwich, who brought Charles II. over to England, 1660.

and so great was this deficiency at the commencement of the Civil War, that the Lieutenant-General of Ordnance in the army of the Earl of Essex, as well as the Chief Engineer in that of Fairfax, were both foreigners—the one a Savoyard and the other a Dutchman! When sappers and miners were wanted they were supplied from the mines of the Mendip Hills in the West, and from the coal-pits of Durham in the North. In earlier times the Forest of Dean sent sappers and miners, not only for service on the borders of Wales, but also to the North of England and Scotland. At Carlaverock and at Berwick, when besieged by Edward the First, and generally in the campaigns of all the three Edwards, the foresters of Dean, under the Constable of St. Briavel's, were the only sappers and miners and working engineers of the Royal armies.

It is strange that the English, who are said to have been the first European nation to use cannon in the field, should not have made greater progress in the art which makes the effects of cannon less destructive. Their castles, being dwelling-houses, were of necessity built of stone, but the outworks might have been made of earth, after the examples of the numerous earthworks by which the country was overspread long before the arrival of the Romans, and which that intelligent people never failed to adopt, on the principle "*fas est et ab hoste doceri.*" Earthworks on a small scale were, indeed, sometimes thrown up, such as the lines of Bristol; but their insufficiency to keep out a reso-

late enemy is evident from the fact that they were "only 5 feet high and 3 feet thick, and behind a ditch only 6 or 7 feet wide and 4 or 5 feet deep,"* which was Rupert's very valid excuse for his subsequent capitulation.

The invention of great guns, now credibly attributed to the Chinese Tartars, taught them the necessity of surrounding their cities with earthen walls of such height and thickness that many of them are to this day no feeble ramparts, even against our improved artillery; while the mud forts of Hindostan have given infinitely more trouble to our arms than the strongest granite fortresses of mediæval Europe.

XI. While the army was preparing to storm Bristol, the Council of War dispatched a letter of sympathy to General Leven, and the officers of the Scotch army, on their late defeat by Montrose. This was signed by 25 officers, whose names are subscribed in the order of their respective ranks:—

Thomas Fairfax, General.

Oliver Cromwell, Lieutenant-General of the Army.

Thos. Hammond, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance.

Henry Ireton, Commissary-General of Horse.

Edw. Montagu, Colonel.

Rich. Fortescu, Colonel.

Rich. Ingoldesbye, Colonel.

John Pickering, Colonel.

Hardross Waller, Colonel.

William Herbert, Colonel.

* Sprigge, p. 120.

Robert Hammond, Colonel.
 James Gray, Lieutenant-Colonel, Adjutant-General of Foot.
 Thos. Pride, Lieutenant-Colonel commanding Harley's Regt.
 Robert Pye, Colonel of Horse.
 Thos. Rainsborough, Colonel of Foot.
 Thos. Sheffield, Colonel of Foot.
 Chas. Fleetwood, Colonel of Foot.
 Ralph Weldon, Colonel of Foot.
 John Raymond, Colonel of Foot.
 Leonard Watson, Scout-Master General.
 Capt. Arthur Evelyn, Adjutant-General of Horse.
 Capt. *Richard Deane*, Comptroller of Ordnance.
 Thos. Jackson, Lieutenant-Colonel to Sir T. Fairfax.
 John Desborough, Major, Fairfax's Horse.
 Chr. Bethel, Major commanding Whalley's Horse.

From the above list it appears that a council of war was composed of field officers, and those whose commands gave them, for the time, the rank and privileges of field officers. Of such we find two—viz. Captain Arthur Evelyn, Adjutant-General of Horse, and *Captain Richard Deane, Comptroller of the Ordnance*—both of them signing before an ordinary lieutenant-colonel and two majors. Hence I infer that the “Comptroller of the Ordnance” took rank between a colonel and lieutenant-colonel, unless the lieutenant-colonel happened, as in the case of *Pride*, to be at the time in command of a regiment. This inference is corroborated by the next promotion of *Captain Richard Deane* to the rank of a *Colonel*, when a regiment was assigned to him in 1647 or 1648.

XII. Owing to the extreme wetness of the sea-

son, the storming of the outworks of Bristol was put off, and Fairfax contented himself with ordering the great guns to play from the new battery upon Prior's Hill Fort, one of the principal defences of the place; and in the meantime he sent a summons to Prince Rupert. The letter which conveyed it may be considered as a curious specimen of self-deception, and a fair exposition of the sentiments of those who took up arms against the King. It is worthy of being studied by every one who would know how the most respectable of the Parliamentarians justified themselves in "*the Sin of Rebellion*," which in the eyes of men who laid so much stress upon the doctrines of the Old Testament ought to have been held "*as witchcraft*."*

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO HIS HIGHNESS PRINCE RUPERT.

SIR,

For the service of the Parliament I have brought this army before Bristol, and do summon you, in their name, to surrender it, with the forts belonging to the same, into my hands, for their use.

Having used this plain language, as the business required, I wish it may be as effectual to you, as it is satisfactory to myself, that I do a little expostulate with you about the surrender of the same, which I confess is a way not common, and which I should not have used, but in respect of such a person and such a place. I take into consideration your Royal birth, and relation to the Crown of England, your honour, courage, the virtue of your person, and the strength of the place, which you may think bound and able to maintain.

Sir, the Crown of England is, and will be, where it ought to be. *We fight to maintain it there.* But the King, misled

* "*Rebellion is as Witchcraft*," 1 Sam. xv. 23.

by evil counsellors, or through a seduced heart, hath left his Parliament, under God, the best assurance of his Crown and family. The maintaining of this schism is the ground of this unhappy war on your part; and what sad effects it has produced in the Three Kingdoms is visible to all men.

To maintain the rights of the Crown and Kingdom jointly, a principal part whereof is that the King, in supreme acts, is not to be advised by men of whom the law takes no notice, but by the Parliament, the great council of the kingdom, in whom (as much as man is capable of) he hears all his people as it were, and in which multitude of counsellors lies his safety, and his people's interest,—and to see him right in this, hath been the constant and faithful endeavour of the Parliament, and to bring those wicked instruments to justice that have misled him is a principal ground of our fighting.

Sir, if God makes this clear to you, as He hath to us, I doubt not but He will give you a heart to deliver the place, notwithstanding all the other considerations of honour, courage, fidelity, &c., because their constancy and use, in the present business, depends upon the right or wrongfulness of this that hath been said. And if upon such conviction you shall surrender it, and save the loss of blood, or the hazard of spoiling such a city, it would be an occasion glorious in itself, and joyful to us, for restoring of you to the endeared affection of the Parliament and people of England, the truest friend to your family it hath in the world.

But if this be hid from your eyes, and through your wilfulness this so great, so famous, and so ancient a city, and so full of people, be, by your putting us to force the same, exposed to ruin and the extremities of war, then I appeal to the righteous God to be judge between you and us, and to requite the wrong. And let all England judge whether the burning of its towns, and ruining its cities, and destroying its people, be a good requital for a person of your family, which hath the prayers, tears, purses, and blood of its Parliament and people, and (if you look on either as now divided) hath ever had that same party, both in Parliament and amongst the

people, most zealous for their assistance and restitution, which you now oppose and seek to destroy. And whose constant grief hath been that their desires to serve your family have been hindered, or made fruitless, by that same party about his Majesty, by whose counsels you act, and whose interest you pursue, in this unnatural war.

I expect your speedy answer to this summons with the return of the bearer this evening, and remain,

Your Highness's humble servant,

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

To this summons Prince Rupert replied, requesting leave to send a messenger to the King, for his commands—which Fairfax refused.

After some more correspondence, by which Rupert evidently intended only to gain time for the arrival of reinforcements or relief, Fairfax closed the negotiations, and prepared for the assault, which was delivered at 2 A.M., September 10th, on both sides of the city at the same time.

On the Gloucestershire side everything succeeded according to the *programme*. The lines were carried, and twenty-two cannon and many prisoners were taken, and all the forts also, except one—Prior's Hill Fort—which being strong and lofty, and the ladders of the assailants too short, held out for two hours, until some of the soldiers, entering through the embrasures, helped others up; and Captain Lagoe of Harley's seized the colours. The defenders then gave way, and the fort was won. The infuriated assailants, however, refused to give quarter until they had killed Major Price, the Commandant, and all his officers, and nearly all the

men; the few that escaped the massacre were saved only through the interposition of the Parliamentary officers.

On the Somersetshire side the attack failed, through the shortness of the ladders. The Forlorn Hope and its supports were repulsed with great slaughter.

Prince Rupert, finding that half his lines were taken, and that the capture of the remainder was only a question of hours, reopened negotiations with Fairfax, which that General was glad to admit, for his losses had been very severe. Lieutenant-Colonel Purefoy, and two majors, Bethel and Cromwell, had fallen, and many inferior officers and men.

During the parley between the Commissioners of Rupert and Fairfax, an accident very nearly deprived the Parliament of both its principal Generals at one blow. Fairfax and Cromwell were sitting together on the top of Prior's Hill Fort when a cannon ball from the Castle struck the parapet on which they were sitting, "*within a hand's breadth of them!*"*

The negotiations ended with the surrender of Prince Rupert on terms honourable to both parties. The Royalists marched out on the 11th September with colours, pikes, and drums, bag and baggage; the officers with their horses and arms, and the common soldiers of horse with their swords. The Prince's Life Guard and 250 horse were allowed to retain their pistols as well as their swords, with a

* *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 110.

pound of powder, and a proportionate quantity of bullets to each man.

Prince Rupert seems to have made himself very unpopular in the neighbourhood of Bristol—probably by compelling the peasantry to work at the fortifications, and by forcing contributions from the farmers; for as he marched out a great number of countrymen surrounded his escort, and kept crying out, “*Give him no quarter! Give him no quarter!*” Upon this, Rupert applied to Fairfax to be allowed 1000 muskets for his protection, promising to restore them at the end of the march. The request was granted, and the muskets were faithfully restored when the column reached Oxford.

The reception of the unfortunate Prince at Oxford was anything but kind or considerate. The King, in a fit of indignation, recalled all his commissions, and gave him a pass to go beyond seas! He was never again employed on land; but, notwithstanding this ill-treatment, never deserted the cause of the King. The blame, if any were justly due, might have been taken by the King to himself for appointing him to such a command. A dashing cavalry officer is about one of the last persons to prolong the defence of a besieged town. His vocation is not behind a wall, but in the open field; and he is pretty sure to waste his men and ammunition in sallies, which, against a besieging army, well supplied with cannon and infantry, are generally of little or no avail.

Prince Rupert remained at Oxford, an unrecognised volunteer, and assisted at its defence to the last.

The Parliament, on the contrary, justified Prince Rupert's conduct at Bristol by the exuberant delight with which they confirmed the capitulation, and by the alacrity with which they reversed the sentence passed upon Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes two years before for surrendering the same city to Rupert. The vindication of Fiennes was deemed to be complete by the surrender of the redoubtable Prince.

Fairfax deputed Cromwell to write the despatches on this occasion, which he did with his usual perspicuity in matters purely military; for where he had a desire to be understood, no one could speak more to the point. It was only when he wished to obfuscate the intellects of his hearers, and thereby find out their designs or thoughts, that he was vague and circumlocutory. Cromwell gave full credit to every officer engaged in the arduous work, of which he did not conceal the difficulties. At the same time, to soften the possible jealousy of the House of Commons, he, somewhat disingenuously, assured them that "his own humble suit, and that of all that have an interest in this blessing is—that, in the remembrance of God's praises, they may be forgotten."

How far this humility was genuine may be gathered from the fact that when the Parliament

afterwards took him at his word, and “*forgot*” the services of the army, Fairfax had no scruple in marching against them, nor Cromwell any in turning them out of the House. The same regiment, Harley’s, which, under the command of its Lieutenant-Colonel Pride, so gallantly stormed Prior’s Hill Fort, as readily administered that dose to the “House” which history has immortalised as *Pride’s purge*.

XIII. The loss of Major Bethel was especially lamented by the Parliamentary army. The *equivoc*ue of his name, BETH-EL, *the House of God*, may have had something to do with the reverence in which they held his person; but the part which he had borne in the battle of Langport, where he commanded the Forlorn Hope of horse, as well as his gallantry in the storming of Bristol, justified the eulogies of the army chronicler, who, in the overflowing of his heart, has left the following record of his affection—in *The Army’s Tears over Major BETHEL*.

Such eulogies and acrostics were a favourite exercise of the poets or poetasters of that age; a complete collection of which would form a curious book of bad taste and exaggerated conceits, but in some instances would be a biographical memoir of worthies whose exploits lie buried with their names. Sprigge, the historian of the New Model, delights in such effusions, and is a trustworthy recorder of

the feelings of the times in which he wrote. Those whom he delights to honour were popular heroes of the army.

THE ARMY'S TEARS OVER MAJOR BETHEL.

Thou gallant charger, do'st thou wheel about
 To sable shades? Or do'st thou rather post
 To BETHEL, there to make a shout
 Of the great triumphs of a scorned host?
 Or, blessed soul, was it unworthy we
 That made thee weary with such dust to be?

Or tired with our new reforming pace,
 Tasting some sips of Heaven, do'st therefore haste
 To fuller draughts of that eternal grace,
 Fearing thy spirit might be here embrac'd?
 Farewell, dear soul, thy great deserv'd arrears
 We'll pay in others' blood, or our own tears.

Only let all, all ages when they tell
 The unexampled tale of Forty-five,
 Yea, when these mercies to their glory swell,
 And be completed by the saints alive,
 When Naseby, Langport, Bristol named they hear,
 Let them all say, "Sweet BETHEL he was there!"

*Bear a part in these laments
 Every soul that longs for peace!
 Truly, who with God indents
 Here to have thereof a lease,
 Enters with himself a war!—
 Lean on things that truly are!*

CHAPTER VII.

ADVANCE OF THE ARMY WESTWARD. — CAPTURE OF TIVERTON CASTLE.—INVESTMENT OF EXETER.—GREAT SICKNESS IN THE ARMY. — GALLANT DEFENCE OF POWDERHAM CHURCH BY THE COMPTROLLER.—THE STORMING OF DARTMOUTH.—BATTLE OF TORRINGTON. —SURRENDER OF THE ARMY OF SIR RALPH HOPTON. —CONCLUSION OF THE CAMPAIGN IN THE WEST.

I. The fall of Bristol completed the misfortunes of the King. Everything now was against him. His best army had been defeated; his strongest places, with the single exception of Oxford, taken. His resources, both in men and money, had been for some time diminishing; and now the very spirit of his party was in danger of being broken by what he considered the disgraceful surrender of a well-fortified and well-supplied city by the bravest of his officers.

The hopes of the Parliamentarians were proportionally raised, and their activity stimulated, by the event. Money, men, and materials of war were supplied as fast as they were wanted; and, above all, the feeling of the country went with them, notwithstanding the heavy taxation which the exigencies of the times compelled.

Fairfax resolved to bring the war to a close by marching at once against Goring, who had recruited his forces in Devonshire and Cornwall, and was

again preparing to take the field. But, unwilling to leave any enemies in the rear, he postponed his advance until he had captured such fortified posts as might, by lying between himself and London, intercept his supplies. With this object he marched to Bath on the 17th September, and there rested four or five days to recruit his own health, which had been much impaired by his exposures and exertions.

From Bath Fairfax detached three columns, under Cromwell, Pickering, and Rainsborough, to take Devizes, Lacock House, and Berkeley Castle—all of which succeeded. A fourth column reduced Farley Castle.

After taking Devizes Cromwell proceeded with one brigade of infantry and three regiments of horse to Basing House and Winchester, both of which were garrisoned for the King. The former he carried by storm, and the latter capitulated through the terror excited by the reports of his severities at Basing.

The "merciless" assault of Basing House has been set by the side of the storming of Drogheda at a later period of the Civil War, as demonstrating Cromwell's innate cruelty and bloodthirstiness. They may be regarded rather as proofs of his calculating policy, and desire of crushing all hopeless resistance, and so putting an early end to the war. For Oliver Cromwell was not naturally "a man of blood." An instance of this occurred shortly after the taking of Basing House, when, six of his soldiers

having been discovered ill-treating some of the garrison of Winchester as they marched out on terms, he caused them to be tried by court martial; and upon their conviction and sentence, which was "*death*," he made them draw lots for life. The man upon whom the fatal blank fell was instantly shot, and the other five were sent to Sir Thomas Glemham, the King's Governor of Oxford, to be dealt with according to his pleasure. Sir Thomas Glemham, unwilling to be behind-hand in generosity, sent them back again, with a letter of thanks to Cromwell for his justice and courtesy.

On the 23rd September Fairfax moved his head quarters to Devizes, and on the 27th to Warminster, where he halted three days. On the 30th he marched to Shaftesbury, where he waited five days for money from London for the pay of his troops, and on the 6th October resumed his march to Chard, where the expected treasure reached him.

In this comparative regularity of pay we have one great cause of the success of the Parliamentarians; for, being by these means restrained from exacting forced contributions from the country people, they avoided the unpopularity which always attends an army that *takes* what it wants without payment; as was of necessity too often the case with the moneyless troops of the King.

At Chard Fairfax heard that Goring, whose head quarters were at Poltimore House, about two miles from Exeter, and within thirty miles of his own, intended to break through his lines with his horse,

as the cavalry of the Parliament had done at Fowey, and join the King in the North. The attempt was probable, and if successful would be very mischievous, for the united horse of the King and Goring would in that case be greatly superior to his own, and the face of affairs would be changed. Fairfax accordingly made dispositions to anticipate Goring, and on the 14th October marched to Honiton, and on the next day to Cullompton, which brought him within sixteen miles of Exeter. Here he called a Council of War, which resulted in the determination to sieze as many posts as possible on the left bank of the river Exe, in order to prevent Goring from crossing it. For this purpose it appeared necessary to occupy Tiverton Castle, which was well situated for either aiding or obstructing the passage of that river at an important point. But Tiverton Castle had been already seized and fortified by the Royalists. The church also had been occupied in force, and must be carried by a *coup de main*—for time would not permit a regular siege, and “delays were dangerous.”

On the 18th October, accordingly, batteries were raised by the Comptroller of the Ordnance, Richard Deane, and fire opened upon the deserted town. A Council of War was held while the cannon was playing upon the enemy's works, and it was resolved to storm the castle, &c., as soon as a practicable breach had been made. While they were in debate concerning the manner of storming, the

chain of the drawbridge was broken by a well-aimed cannon shot, and the bridge fell down, "whereupon the soldiers, without waiting for orders, possessed themselves of the bridge, entered the works, and occupied the churchyard, which so terrified the enemy, that it made them quit their ordnance, and some of their posts and line, and fly into the church and castle, where they cried out lamentably for "*quarter!*" The soldiers crept in at the church windows, and made all within prisoners, but stripped most of them to their shirts, yet gave them their lives.* Sir George Talbot the governor, four majors, and about two hundred officers and soldiers were taken.

II. On the 28th the army moved on to Silverton, six miles from Exeter, when it was resolved not to march any further Westward until that city, garrisoned by 1,100 horse and 4,000 foot, had been reduced. Positions were accordingly taken up in the villages round Exeter, on both sides of the Exe; but owing to the bad weather, which rendered the deep and narrow lanes impassable to artillery, very little progress was made. Sickness, also, set in with such alarming symptoms, that head-quarters were frequently shifted, being one day at Newton St. Cyrus, another day at Crediton, another at Topsham, &c. They were finally fixed at Ottery St. Mary, to which town the train had been already sent on the 29th. The general soon after followed;

* Sprigge, 144, 145.

and we learn from one of his letters to his father Lord Fairfax, that his wife, the daughter of Sir Francis Vere, did not hesitate to share her husband's hardships—which soon became serious. Lady Fairfax remained in camp all the time that the sickness lasted. This "*new sickness*," as it was called, prevailed to such an extent, that for several weeks together eight or nine soldiers died of it daily. "Six of the general's own family" were sick of it at one time, and half the soldiers of the foot regiments. Many officers sunk under it, and among them Colonel Pickering, who was reckoned one of the bravest and best officers in the army. His death was very generally deplored.

Sprigge has endeavoured to express the feelings of the army on the occasion in a column of some of his worst verses, which I will not inflict on the reader. They are headed by an onagram—"In God I reckon happiness"—*Johannes Pickering*.

In consequence of this sickness head-quarters were moved, December 6th, to Tiverton, and a part of the army sent to Crediton, while the remainder were placed in detachments at Nutwell, Broadclist, Poltimore, and Stoke, hemming in Exeter completely on the eastern or left bank of the Exe; but the western side was in great part left open, for want of sufficient numbers to make an effectual blockade.

The sickness by which the army was so reduced was, probably, a species of typhus, originating in a marsh fever, for the country round Exeter must at

that time have been subject to frequent floods, from the overflowing of the river Exe.

III. The difficulties of the army were great, but, notwithstanding these discouragements, the campaign could not be abandoned. It was important to reduce Exeter, and one of the preliminary operations was to obtain possession of Powderham Castle, which ancient seat of the Courtenays commanded the river opposite to Nutwell Court, the inheritance of the representatives of Sir Francis Drake.

Powderham Castle was held by a garrison of Royalists, and, unless it could be taken by surprise, would require so large a number of men to invest it, that the alarm would reach Exeter, and reinforcements from that city might cut off the besieging party before it could retreat across the wide and bridgeless water.

Under these circumstances a small but select body of 200 foot and dragoons, under two of his most resolute captains, were required for the service by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and his choice fell upon the Comptroller of the Ordnance, *Richard Deane*, as the leader of the enterprise, and Captain *Farmer* of the dragoons as his colleague. The latter had distinguished himself a few days before by boarding a ship between Topsham and Exmouth with a handful of dragoons and carrying her triumphantly into Topsham harbour. She was laden with valuable treasures belonging to the King and

Queen, and was about to convey them to the latter in France.

At nine o'clock at night, on the 14th of December, this party was taken across the Exe in boats. The river at this point is fully a mile in breadth at high water, at which time only any landing could be effected, on account of the mud.

By a strange oversight, the garrison of Powderham Castle had no sentinels on the river bank, and the party, landing near the parish church, took immediate possession of it. The church was about half a mile from the castle, and a good basis of operations against it.

But, when the Comptroller had completed his landing, he heard from a countryman, or a scout, previously sent over, that the castle had been reinforced with 150 men the evening before, and was fully prepared to repel an attack. It was, therefore, deemed too hazardous to advance in the dark, and it was too late to retreat. The ground, however, was covered with snow, and a hard frost had set in. There was no alternative but to fortify the church, and pass the night in it, under arms, in the hope that the garrison might be relieved the next day by their friends from Nutwell.

Daylight brought neither boats nor reinforcements, but a body of 500 men came down from Exeter, who immediately proceeded to attack the church.

From 7 A.M. until 10 they continued firing mus-

kets and throwing hand-grenades into it, but the Comptroller had posted his men so skilfully, that not one of them was killed. The assailants made several attempts to storm the church through the doors and windows, but were beaten back every time, and were ultimately forced to retreat, carrying off their wounded, who were numerous, and leaving two dead in the churchyard. From the traces of blood in the snow, the number carried off must have been considerable.

The Comptroller kept his post through a second night, notwithstanding the severity of the cold, and the impossibility of lighting fires in the church without danger to the building. That he did not light any fire, and that when he retired from the post he left the church uninjured, is a strong testimony to the superiority of his religion above that of most of his party in the army, who are charged, and I fear with too much truth, with the heartless destruction of not only altars and fonts, but even of sepulchral monuments, memorials of the greatness and goodness of the glorious dead, of many of whom "the world was not worthy." It is but fair, however, to add, that much more mischief was done in this way at the Reformation than in the great rebellion—by "Protestants" than by "Patriots."

On the morning of the second day Sir Hardress Waller came down from Crediton with a strong force to Exminster, and under cover of this relief, and by command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, the Comptroller and his gallant little band recrossed the Exe,

as they had come, in small boats unmolested by the enemy.

“These soldiers,” says Sprigge, “thus happily delivered, and thus honourably come off, were rewarded with proportions out of the prize taken by Captain Farmer, at the general’s command.”

This is the action to which the tradition that “Richard Deane was first taken notice of at the Siege of Exeter”^{*} refers; for here he first had a separate command. He had already, as we have seen, given proofs of his skill and resolution on various occasions—at Naseby, at Sherborne, at Langport, at Bridgwater, and at Bristol—where the good practice of the artillery is especially noticed; and we claim no more than his due when we demand that a large portion of this efficiency may be credited to the Comptroller of the Ordnance.

This defence of Powderham church is thus mentioned by Sir Thomas Fairfax, in his letter to his father, December 19, 1645:—

“The other day we sent a party over the river Exe to Poldrum House, but it being possessed by the enemy, and the party not strong enough to storm it, our men took a church half a mile nearer Exeter, from whence the enemy sallied out that night with 500 musketeers, and assaulted our men in the church. They disputed the business for three hours very hotly. The enemy came up close to the windows with halberts, and threw in fifteen granadoes, but by the goodness of God our men forced them to retreat, leaving two men slain behind them, and many others wounded. We, finding the place more dangerous than useful, quit it again.

^{*} Chronicles of the Restoration.

The extreme coldness of the weather, and want of clothes, makes us act slower."*

IV. The army lay before Exeter until January 5, 164 $\frac{5}{6}$, having in the two or three weeks previous had several alarms of the approach of the Royalists from Cornwall to relieve the city. On this day a report arrived of a successful sally from Plymouth, and accordingly "a private consultation of the principal officers was held, and divers officers sought counsel of Heaven that day, keeping it as a private day of humiliation; in answer whereunto God inclined their hearts to resolve of an advance."

"The next day a publick Council of War was called, and, that the former resolution might appear to be the answer of God, it was in this public Council resolved, *nem. con.*, to advance into the South Hams, where the greatest part of the enemy lay."†

It is amusing to read such sentences as the above, which remind us of similar practices, or "pious frauds," of the Greeks and Romans whenever the generals desired to inspire confidence into their troops in any measure upon which they had resolved. The Gods were consulted, and always answered as the generals wished them to answer. The Greek found the entrails of the victims propitious or not, according as his own prudence dictated; and, whenever the Roman general had made up his mind to march, the eagle made no

* Fairfax Correspondence (Ed. Ball), vol. i. p. 264.

† *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 163.

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resistance to the *primipilus* who pulled the staff out of the ground. On the contrary, no application of force could induce the staff to leave the ground if the general found it more expedient to remain in the camp. In like manner the Parliamentary leaders never "sought the Lord" in vain.

On the present occasion, such was the alacrity of the troops to obey this propitious answer, that, having been served with new shoes and stockings only, they would not wait for clothes, though their own were in rags, but proceeded cheerfully through a deep snow to the town of Crediton, and thence on to Bovey Tracy—the head quarters of the Royalists. Cromwell led the advanced guard, and surprised the enemy in their quarters at six o'clock in the evening, and found the officers at cards! Four hundred horses, seven stands of colours, of which one was a King's colour, a major, and fifty men, and all the stakes of the card-players, which they threw out of the windows into the street while they themselves endeavoured to escape out of the back door, were the fruits of this surprise. The next day the army marched to Plymouth and raised the siege.

A considerable number of the Royalists retreated, by way of Totnes, to Dartmouth, where they swelled the garrison to a number which justified a defence in case of an attack, which was not long delayed.

But the state of the roads was such, from ice and snow, that when Fairfax arrived under the walls of Dartmouth he was destitute of a battering-train,

and unable to bring any but the lightest of field-pieces forward. The Comptroller, however, was personally present, and went aboard Captain Batten's blockading squadron and borrowed 200 sailors, to whom he allotted posts on shore, and for whom he soon found congenial work, namely, the turning of the enemy's own guns against them as soon as the soldiers had scaled the forts, and expelled their defenders. This was effected with astonishing rapidity at eleven o'clock at night on the fourth day after the arrival of the army before the town. "*God with us!*" was the "word;" and the storming parties were distinguished from each other by "*shirts out before and behind,*" for the night was dark.

The advance was so rapid that the defenders had only time for one discharge of cannon before their assailants were under their guns. Planting the ladders they escalated three different forts, mounting in the whole sixty guns, so simultaneously, and with such success, that in a very few minutes they were all carried, with the loss of only one man killed and an inconsiderable number wounded!—a success which the most sanguine could hardly have expected. The storming parties were led by Colonels Hammond and Fortescue, and Lieutenant-Colonel Pride.

After this success the Comptroller was sent to summon two vessels of war, of ten and twelve guns respectively, then lying in the river Dart, to surrender; which they did without firing a shot.

Three hours afterwards Sir Hugh Pollard, the governor, gave up the castle; and the Earl of Newport, a volunteer, one colonel, four lieutenant-colonels, two majors, fifteen captains, twenty-four subalterns, and many country gentlemen and clergymen, besides nearly 1,000 soldiers, were made prisoners of war. The mounted guns in the town were 120 in number.

The employment of Richard Deane, the Comptroller, on the two occasions when ships and seamen were in question, appears to corroborate the tradition that previous to his joining the army he had been connected with the navy. The sailors borrowed from Captain Batten's squadron would more willingly serve on shore under a land officer whom they knew to have some knowledge of naval matters; and even the enemy's ships of war would less reluctantly surrender to the summons of such an officer.

An incident of the storming of Dartmouth is noticed by Fairfax in his despatches as remarkable, and so indeed it was; and to us moderns, who have perhaps an undue contempt for the weapons and powder of the seventeenth century, it is not a little surprising. "After they were forced from their strengths out of the town, the governor, coming back from the castle to see in what posture the town was, received a remarkable shot as he was in the boat. A *musquet* shot was made at the boat, which pierced the boat and both the thighs of one that sat next to him, and about three inches into

his thigh also! whereupon he retreated to the castle."

Two acts of generosity at this place reflect great credit upon Sir Thomas Fairfax. He dismissed all his Cornish prisoners, giving them two shillings a piece to pay their way home, "in order that their countrymen might see he had forgot former injuries, and respected them as much as any other county."* And he distributed the greatest part of the prize goods among the "well affected" of the inhabitants of the town who had suffered from the storm. It is no less creditable to his troops that they took this deprivation of their "mercies" in good part. For to take his prize-money from the soldier or sailor, is "to rob a lioness of her whelps."

V. January 26. From Dartmouth the army returned by forced marches to the siege of Exeter, capturing Powderham Castle by the way. But they had scarcely recommenced operations when intelligence arrived that Lord Hopton had succeeded in raising a considerable force in Cornwall, and was again advancing to the relief of Exeter with 5,000 horse and 4,000 foot, and that he had reached Torrington.

Fairfax immediately broke up his camp, and by forced marches appeared in presence of the enemy on the 18th of February. His advanced guard threatened Stevenstone House, the seat of Mr. Rolle,

* Sprigge, p. 171.

which was garrisoned by 200 dragoons, who fell back upon their main body at Torrington, leaving the hedges lined with musketeers to cover their retreat. It was now five o'clock in the evening, and nearly dark—apparently too late for operations. In these positions the opposing armies remained, without any demonstrations on either side, until eight o'clock, when Lord Hopton began to withdraw his outlying picquets within the barricades of the town; and those of Sir Thomas Fairfax followed them up closely, without orders, and occupying the evacuated posts were soon within musket-shot of the head-quarters of the Royalists.

This state of things appeared very critical to Fairfax; for should the enemy, who knew the ground, make a sudden and well-supported sally in the dark, they would certainly cause a great loss to his advanced guard, and possibly scatter his whole army so completely that they might not recover their formations by daylight. Under these circumstances he rode with Cromwell to the front to see the guards set, and take such precautions as might prevent the mischief which he apprehended. They found, or thought they had found, reasons for supposing, from certain subdued sounds, that the enemy were retreating, and accordingly, in order to ascertain the fact, sent a party of dragoons to fire upon them through the hedges and barricades. The Royalists replied with a volley of shot, upon which Fairfax's forlorn hope of foot went in to bring off the dragoons, and the reserve followed to

bring off the forlorn hope of foot, and the action became so extended that Fairfax and Cromwell, seeing the readiness of their men to fight, ordered the advance, and attacked at all points.

For two hours a hand-to-hand fight was kept up with equal resolution on both sides. At length the Parliamentary infantry forced their way through the barricades and admitted the cavalry, who charged the Royalists and drove them through the town, when Lord Hopton, bringing up the rear, had his horse shot under him. Upon this, his cavalry, facing about, charged the Parliamentary infantry, and drove them back again, until they were themselves charged by a fresh body of horse, which overthrew many of them, and pursued the rest to the bridges and through the barricades at the lower end of the town. The Parliamentarians then set guards at the barricades, and thought that all was over for the night, when suddenly the powder magazine of the enemy, containing eighty barrels of powder which had been placed in the church, exploded, and threw everything into confusion. This was said to be the work of an incendiary, one *Watts*, who had been hired and paid thirty pounds for the purpose. *Watts*, who was pulled out from under the rubbish and timber, still alive, is said to have confessed this the next day. The lead, stones, timber, and ironwork of the church roof were blown into the air, and scattered all over the town and fields; but few persons were killed, except about

two hundred prisoners and their guard, who were in the church at the time of the explosion. Sir Thomas Fairfax, however, had a narrow escape. He was riding along the street at the time, when the terrible shower descended about him, and unhorsed one of his Life Guards, Mr. Rhodes, but spared the General.

The despatch of Fairfax is long and minute as to particulars, and does justice to the Royalists. "Their horse," he says, "twice repulsed our foot, and almost drove them out of the town again; but Colonel Hammond, and some other officers, and a few soldiers made a stand at the barricade, and so making good their resistance rallied their men, and went on again." The explosion of the magazine he attributes to "some desperate prisoner, or casually some soldier," but makes no mention of his own danger and escape. He declares the action to have been "a hotter service than any storm the army had ever before been upon."

The fruits of this victory were comparatively small — only one lieutenant-colonel and about twenty other officers being taken, one of whom, a commissary, rejoiced in the name of "*Boney*," so familiar to our soldiers and sailors during the first quarter of this century.

The Royalists, after this action, retired into Cornwall, where they again recruited their shattered forces with such expedition that in a few days they were able to bring 5,000 horse and 1,000 foot into

the field; but this was their last effort. The men of Cornwall had nobly proved their loyalty to the King, and had they been better supported by other counties the throne of Charles might have been upheld, and a compromise, worthy of both King and people, effected.

On the 23rd of February, Fairfax advanced with his whole army, and the Royalists retreated before him, outnumbered and out-generaled, as the Parliamentarians had been in 1644. Fairfax reached Bodmin on the 4th of March, and on the same day, Prince Charles, who up to this time had been with Lord Hopton, left his army in despair, and embarked at Plymouth for the Scilly Islands, from whence he sailed to Jersey, and after that took refuge in France.

Four days after his departure, Lord Hopton, finding that any attempt to break through the army of the enemy was hopeless, made up his mind to listen to the overtures which Fairfax had made to him on the 5th, and agreed to a cessation of hostilities, preparatory to a capitulation, if they could agree on the terms.

Six Commissioners appointed by each General met at Truro, and sat daily until the 14th, when nineteen articles being agreed upon, the capitulation was signed, and all Lord Hopton's horse, amounting to five thousand, laid down their arms. The infantry had anticipated the capitulation by withdrawing to their own homes. The Commissioners were—

FOR THE KING.

Colonel Charles Goring.
 Colonel Marcus Trevor.
 Colonel Thomas Panton.
 Colonel Jordon Bovill.
 Major Goteer.
 Sir Richard Prideaux, Knt.

FOR THE PARLIAMENT.

Commissary-General Ireton.
 Colonel John Lambert.
 Colonel John St. Aubyn.
 Commissary-General Stane.
 Colonel Edward Harley.
 Comptroller of the Ordnance,
Richard Deane.

This capitulation redeemed the loss of the army of the Earl of Essex, which, a year-and-half before, in the same county and under almost similar circumstances, had been compelled to surrender to the King. But whereas the cavalry of the Parliament had broken through the lines of the Royalists and escaped, and the infantry and artillery were taken, now the case was reversed—the infantry escaped and the cavalry laid down their arms.

Of all the officers of the Parliament who witnessed this happy day, not one could have welcomed it with such sincere satisfaction as *Richard Deane*, for to him it was a day of recompense as well as of glory. He was one of those who had signed the capitulation of Fowey, and he was now one of those who dictated the terms of the capitulation of Truro. And as on the former occasion his general had testified to his “honesty, judgement, and stoutness;” so now he had the satisfaction of feeling that his own “diligence, industry and resolution” had contributed not a little to the present success of THE CAUSE.

The terms were both favourable and honourable to the Royal army: for no General on the King’s

side was held in higher estimation by Sir Thomas Fairfax than Lord Hopton; and none of the King's troops had fought better, if so well, as this army had fought at Torrington. The terms granted were, therefore, liberal. "All corporals, and such common troopers as should appear gentlemen of worth," were allowed to retain their swords, and had twenty shillings in money, or their own horses restored to them. This money does not represent the value of the horses, but only a free gift from the victors to whom the horses of the vanquished were, by the laws of war, forfeited. It was a privilege which none abused, except a brigade of Frenchmen, who with characteristic trickery exchanged their own good horses privately with some of the troopers of the Parliament for their lean and worn out jades, not worth twenty shillings, receiving the difference; and on the day of the disbanding demanded the money proposed to be given instead of the horses. They were properly served by having their own miserable hacks left with them.*

Every officer, according to his rank, was allowed to take away, besides his arms, one, two, three, or more horses, up to twelve for a major-general. The General, Lord Hopton, was allowed forty, and Lord Wentworth, a volunteer nobleman, was permitted to retain twenty-five.

After the completion of this capitulation, most of the garrisons in Cornwall surrendered to the

* Sprigge, p. 216.

Parliament. That of St. Michael's Mount, consisting of 100 men, voluntarily took service under Fairfax. Pendennis Castle, however, held out for some months longer, and its capture cost the life of a valuable Parliamentary officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Ingoldesby, who was shot by a musketeer, from behind a mud wall, as he was reconnoitring the fortress.

On the 21st of March the army resumed the siege of Exeter. But the Governor, Sir John Berkeley, finding it useless to hold out any longer, capitulated on the 13th of April, and the Governor, together with all the lords, *clergymen*, gentlemen, captains, officers, troopers, and common soldiers, marched out of the city, "with their horses and arms, and bag and baggage, colours flying, drums beating, matches lighted, bullets in their mouths, and full bandoliers."

Some of my readers may wonder what is meant by the two last clauses of the above passage. They should know that, before the invention of cartridges, the powder for the immediate use of the musketeer was kept in wooden tubes, called *bandoliers*, which were slung about his neck in a belt; and that in loading his musket he first took the bullets out of his pouch and put them into his mouth, until he had loaded and primed with powder, and then he put the bullet into his musket. Hence, "*matches lighted*," and "*bullet in mouth*," indicated a soldier prepared for action. To march out of a besieged place in this manner was to

march out with all the honours of war—which, in the present day, are satisfied by drawn swords and fixed bayonets. The colours, however, still fly, and the drums still beat in unison, as of old.

“That which much retarded the proceedings of the Commissioners,” says Sprigge, “was some high demands, and fruitless queries in behalf of the clergy—viz. the bishop, dean, prebendaries, and other cathedral men there, wherein our commissioners held them to what was reasonable; and, after much time consumed therein, they were willing to accept of what we were willing to grant.”

“*The Weekly Account*,” journal of the day, tells us that these demands of the cathedral men were “as to how the surplices and copes, and other sympathies with Rome, were to be disposed of; and there was great stir about them, but to no purpose.”

That the terms granted were not very hard upon the clergy of Exeter, may be inferred from the fifth article, which says, that “neither the cathedral church, nor any other church within the city shall be defaced, nor anything belonging thereunto spoiled, or taken away, by any soldier or person of either side.”

Under the sixth article, the persons of the clergy were protected; but nothing is said about their revenues or ecclesiastical property, over which Fairfax had no control—these being already confiscated “to the use of the nation,” by act of parliament.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SIEGE OF OXFORD.—NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE
BROKEN OFF.—FALL OF BANBURY.—CAPITULATION
OF OXFORD.—TERMINATION OF THE FIRST WAR.

I. The surrender of Exeter was followed by that of Barnstaple, and on the 18th of April Fairfax continued his march to Oxford, which he reached on the 1st of May, and found it, as we are informed, “incomparably more strong than ever.” It was evident that this, his last regular siege, would also be his most difficult. He took his measures accordingly.

The King was no longer in the place, and thus one great motive for activity or forbearance, as the case might be, was removed. Charles had escaped a week before in disguise, “with his locks cut off, his beard shaved, and in the habit of a serving man, with a cloke bag behind him, waiting upon Master Ashburnham.”* The chronicler of this event gives in the margin an apt quotation from Lucan, *Pharsalia*, lib. 8, by no means aptly translated:—

—— positisque insignibus, aulâ
Egreditur, famuli raptos indutus amictus :
In dubiis tantum est inopem simulare tyranno ;
Quanto igitur mundi dominis securius ævum
Verus pauper agit ?

* *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 246.

This was another critical period of the war, which, but for the fidelity of Fairfax, might have been disastrous to the Parliament, for at this time he received overtures of peace from certain members of the Court in Oxford, acting, as they asserted, under orders of the King, to the effect that if the Army would receive the King without any conditions the King would grant an amnesty to the Army, and, putting himself at their head, would march to London and dissolve the Parliament! * But this proposal, if ever made, was immediately rejected. Fairfax, as the servant of the Parliament, would not listen to any treaty of peace, except to forward the conditions of it to his employers, and to this the King, or his agents, would not consent. The Sovereign, outraged in all his prerogatives by the Parliament, would not address himself to those whose authority he denied, and who persisted in sitting in defiance of him, and in making use of his name to give the colour of law to their proceedings, which were contrary to all laws. These negotiations, therefore, if they ever really existed, which is doubtful, fell to the ground.

II. The siege of Oxford presented no small difficulties. That city, from the very beginning of the war, had been the head-quarters of the King, and the refuge of those Members of Parliament who adhered to him. It was, accordingly, not only

* *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 247.

well fortified, well garrisoned, and well victualled, but also surrounded by several outposts, as Radcote, Farringdon, Wallingford, &c., all of which must be taken before the walls of Oxford could be safely approached. The governor, Sir Thomas Glemham, was one of the most resolute of the King's officers, and already distinguished for his defences of York and Carlisle. He had made the approaches as difficult as possible; the meadows had been flooded all round by opening sluices from the Isis and the Cherwell, so that three parts of the city were actually unapproachable, and where there was no water strong works, flanking one another, were thrown out in advance of the ditches, and so many pitfalls dug in front of them that even a solitary soldier could hardly come near them in safety. The garrison consisted of 5,000 good troops, most of them veterans, and all the magazines were fully stored.

Under these circumstances Fairfax foresaw a long and troublesome siege, and, in the event of failure, disasters of which no one could calculate the effect. He had before his eyes the memorable case of Gloucester, which had turned the tide of victory against the King, and Gloucester was not to be compared with Oxford for its capabilities of defence. Fairfax, therefore, called a Council of War at Heddington, and fairly put the difficulties and dangers of the undertaking before them. The Council wisely resolved to commence vigorous measures at once for the investment of the city,

but, before they proceeded to the assault, to open communications with the governor, and offer him the best terms that could be proposed, without betraying their apprehensions. Enormous efforts were accordingly made for the construction of a strong entrenched camp on Heddington Hill, for which purpose not only the whole country round, but even London itself, was put in requisition for materials and tools. This part of the works was entrusted to Major-General Skippon, who, working day and night, completed it in four days, to the admiration of the whole army. The soldiers who worked were paid by the rod for their daily labour. A bridge was thrown across the Cherwell near Marston, where another strong post was made. Colonel Rainsborough commanded in this quarter. Two other strongly entrenched camps were formed in favourable places, and Colonels Herbert and Lambert put in command of them. All these posts were connected by lines, and in the meantime troops were dispatched to capture the detached forts and fortified towns round the city.

When all these arrangements had been made the commanders of all the fortalices, including Oxford, were summoned to capitulate, and deep was the anxiety for their replies. To the great surprise and joy of Fairfax the Governor of Oxford entertained the question, and fourteen commissioners were appointed on each side to discuss the terms. This was on the 17th of May; but unexpected difficulties arose, and, without abandoning the

conference, neither side relaxed their exertions for attack or defence. The governor continued strengthening his works, and Fairfax pushing on his approaches. A cannonade was also kept up on both sides, at intervals, night and day, and chiefly by the garrison, as if to get rid of their powder and shot, lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy, for surrender was but a question of days.

The commissioners of Sir Thomas Glemham, nevertheless, raised so many difficulties that the negotiations seemed to be in danger of being indefinitely protracted, and Fairfax began to suspect that this was their real object. On the 9th of June, therefore, he called a final Council of War to consider the question of storming at once. Thirty-one officers, among whom was *Richard Deane*, met, and passed the following resolutions:—

1. That there were 4,000 foot and 300 horse in the garrison.
2. That they might hold out six months before their provisions or ammunition would be exhausted.
3. That under these circumstances it was not advisable to storm.
4. That the best way to reduce the city was by approaches, in case they could not come to a treaty.

Of this Council of War, Richard Deane signs fifteenth among the colonels, having two below him, and before the judge-advocate, the two adjutant-generals of the horse and foot, two quartermaster-generals, and all the lieutenant-

colonels and majors. His rank, at this time, may, therefore, be set down as that of a full colonel.

III. During the progress of these negotiations some interesting events occurred, the most gratifying of which was the fall of Banbury, which was achieved by Colonel Whalley, after eleven weeks' siege, by mining. "This town, (says the chronicler,) "had once been a great and fair market town, but now having scarce the one half standing, to gaze on the ruins of the other." It had been taken by the Royalists, immediately after the battle of Edgehill, and remained in their hands ever since, although repeatedly attacked. Banbury was also remarkable for a phenomenon which had occurred there in 1630, and which had produced no small alarm in the minds of men in that superstitious age. "Strange sights were seen over the town in the night time, viz. the appearance of fighting, and of pikes pushing one against another in the ayre"—"whereof," says Joshua Sprigge, "I was an eye-witness, with many others."*

These "fearful sights and signs in Heaven" portended to that generation great national calamities, and when the Civil War broke out, eleven years afterwards, were by many regarded as prophetic.

Bulstrode Whitelocke † notices another alarming atmospheric portent, on the King's birthday, 1644. "Much notice was taken of three suns in the

* Sprigge, p. 252.

† Ibid. p. 122.

firmament, and a rainbow with a bend *towards* the earth.”

In our days such phenomena are explained by the laws of refraction and reflection, but the atmosphere is so seldom in a condition to produce them that they are extremely rare, being scarcely ever seen except by the sea side and in mountainous districts. The spectacle at Banbury was, therefore, the more remarkable and appalling. It was duly chronicled in a pamphlet of the time, still to be occasionally met with in the libraries of curious antiquaries. These “strange sights” were probably produced by a nocturnal drilling of pikemen near the town, for Banbury and its neighbourhood had been a focus of Puritanism ever since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and, from the Reformation, disaffected to the Established Church, and to the Throne which supported it. No wonder, then, that a few zealous and fanatical men should have been so worked upon by the “signs of the times” in the early part of the reign of Charles I. as to believe that nothing but the knowledge of the use of arms would secure to them the blessings of civil and religious liberty, and it is not surprising that under this impression they should prepare themselves for the coming Revolution by meeting in small parties at night, and secretly practising those exercises to which they might, at any time, be called as soldiers in the field. These drillings and mimic fights would, under certain conditions of the atmosphere, be reflected, as in a mirror, in the air,

in the same manner as the spectre of the Hartz Mountains is formed, or as those two or three horsemen were multiplied into a troop of cavalry in the Highlands of Scotland, a phenomenon which was seen and described by Sir Walter Scott in his *Essay on Demonology and Witchcraft*. Optical illusions such as these are ascertained facts, and in an age of superstition are naturally attributed to superhuman agency, and looked upon as portents. The writer of these pages once saw a somewhat similar atmospheric effect, on the Devonshire coast, of images of ships reflected high in air, as if they were sailing through the sky.

Three and four suns have been occasionally seen, though not often, under similar conditions of the atmosphere. A remarkable instance occurred on the day of the battle of Barnet, immediately preceding the engagement, which Edward IV. dexterously converted into a good omen for himself, as it indicated the badge of his ancestor, Edward III. —“*a sun in his full glory.*”

The four intersecting circles of Botallec, in Cornwall, may commemorate a similar phenomenon in the days of our British ancestors; and there can be no doubt that the extraordinary one noticed by Tacitus, *Annal.* xiv. 32, which, he says, portended the overthrow of Camulodunum, was another “strange sight,” analogous to the terrible “sign” of Banbury — *Visamque speciem, in æstuario Tamisæ, subversæ coloniæ.*

The fall of Banbury was followed by another

still more encouraging event. A captain of the garrison of Oxford was taken, in the disguise of a fisherman, with a letter on his person from Sir Thomas Glemham to the King, giving his reasons for listening to the proposals of Fairfax. It appeared that the Civil Lords, whom the King had left behind him, with too much power to impede the free action of the governor, had outvoted and compelled the latter to receive the overtures of Sir Thomas Fairfax against his own inclination. The discovery of this division of counsels made the Parliamentarian general the more eager to press the conclusion of the treaty, and more liberal in his offers; for he felt that if the civilians were, by means of the King's interposition, brought to a submission to the views of the governor, the result of the operations against Oxford might be doubtful; for Glemham, who had so bravely defended York against two combined armies after the loss of the battle of Marston Moor, and who afterwards sustained a ten months' siege at Carlisle, and did not surrender until he had consumed all the horses and dogs in the city, was not a man to be held cheap by any adversary. The treaty was, therefore, to be pressed, while there was such a division in the garrison as a disagreement between the civil and military authorities.

Another accident still further favoured the hopes of Sir Thomas Fairfax. Prince Rupert, having ridden out with a party of horse for the purpose of exercise, had unwarily come too near the outpost of

Colonel Rainsborough, and had been fired at by a sentinel and wounded in the shoulder, so as to be rendered incapable of action for some time. This was a serious loss to the garrison, for in the event of a desperate sally there was no one whom the Cavaliers would more willingly follow than Rupert, who had always overthrown the enemy when he charged. He had, indeed, no command, for he had been unwisely deprived of it by the King, after the loss of Bristol; but he remained with the Royal army as a volunteer, and was sure to be elected as a leader by any party of horse ordered out on any desperate service. His wound, therefore, was a great encouragement to the Parliamentarians.

About this time also news arrived of the surrender of Newark to Major-General Poyntz, accompanied by the tidings that the King had reached the Scottish army, and had been carried by them northward, beyond the means of communication with his own generals. This was also an encouragement to Fairfax, while it was hardly less satisfactory to Glemham, who had been under great alarm lest the King should be intercepted by Poyntz.

All obstacles to an amicable termination of hostilities being thus removed, Sir Thomas Glemham surrendered his charge on the 24th of June, and the garrison of Oxford marched out with all the honours of war, and all the advantages of an honourable peace.

The other garrisons, which depended upon Oxford, followed the example, and there remained only two

or three places in the West which held out a little longer. Pendennis Castle surrendered to Colonel St. Aubyn on the 16th of August; and three days afterwards Ragland Castle, after a glorious defence by its octogenarian owner and governor, the Marquis of Worcester, was given up to Sir Thomas Fairfax in person, who had come from Oxford to terminate a siege which had been too much for his lieutenant Colonel Morgan. This was the last achievement of Sir Thomas Fairfax in this war; and by it the pacification of the south and west of England was completed.

IV. On the 13th of November, Sir Thomas Fairfax arrived in London and received the thanks of the two Houses of Parliament, which were conveyed to him by the Earl of Manchester on behalf of the Lords, in a few simple and plain words, such as a soldier might say and hear without a blush. But the style of Lenthall, the Speaker of the House of Commons, was so ridiculously inflated, that Fairfax would probably rather have fought another Naseby than have undergone a repetition of his address.

“It was the custom of the ancient Romans,” said the Speaker, “after a glorious and successful prince, to derive his name to posterity in memory of his virtues; as, after the great prince Julius Cæsar, his successors retained the name of *Cæsar*, as Augustus *Cæsar*, Tiberius *Cæsar*, &c. Thus, hereafter, all famous and victorious generals in this kingdom will derive the addition of FAIRFAX!”

To which Sir Thomas quietly replied, that “he esteemed himself honoured by the great respects of the House towards him, and that he accounted it his greatest happiness, under God, to be in the least kind instrumental to their and the kingdom’s good.”

The character of Sir Thomas Fairfax stands so deservedly high, that we may admit the truth of almost any eulogy which his admirers thought fit to pass upon him. That of Bulstrode Whitelocke commends itself by its evident sincerity. “The general,” he says, “was a person of as meek and humble a carriage as ever I saw in great employment, and of few words in discourse or council. I have observed him in councils of war, that he hath said little, but hath ordered things (sometimes) expressly contrary to the judgment of his council; and in action in the field I have seen him so highly transported, that scarce any dare speak a word to him; and he would seem more like a man distracted and furious, than of his ordinary mildness, and so far different temper.”

But the most elegantly and felicitously expressed character of the Lord General, is that written by his son-in-law, the cleverest and most profligate of the Dukes of Buckingham, which in point and terseness is unrivalled:—

He might have been a King,
 But that he understood
 How much it was a meaner thing
 To be unjustly Great, than honourably Good.

V. Under such a general the officers of his army could not but be of good reputation. As such, our authority, the author of *Anglia Rediviva*, describes them. But in characterising them as "*better Christians than soldiers, and wiser in faith than in fighting,*" he indulges rather his own taste for antithesis than historical truth. For they must not only have "prayed well," but also "*fought well*"—as their sagacious Major-General, Skippon, advised, who coupled these two duties of the "Christian soldier" together—or they would not have prevailed over the ungodly Cavaliers, who, with all their profaneness and debauchery, knew how to fight, and always fought well, and often successfully.

"The officers of the army," says the chronicler of their victories, "were such as knew little more of war than our own unhappy wars taught them, except some few, so as *men* could not contribute much to this work. Indeed, I may say this, they were better Christians than Soldiers, wiser in faith than in fighting, and could believe a victory sooner than contrive it. And yet, I think, they were as wise in the way of soldiery as the little time and experience they had could make them. These officers, many of them with their soldiery, were much in prayer and reading scripture, an exercise that soldiers, till of late, have used but little; and thus they went on and prospered. *Men conquer better as they are Saints than Souldiers.* In the countries where they came, they left something of

God as well as Cæsar behind them—something of piety as well as pay. They were much in justice upon offenders,* that they might be still in some degree of reformation in their military state. Armies are too great bodies to be sound in all parts at once. There was much amity and unity amongst the officers while they were in action and in the field, and no visible emulations and passions to break their ranks, which made the public fare better. *That boat can go but slowly where the oars row different ways.*”†

In these latter paragraphs our author speaks more like a man of sense, and to the purpose; for there is no doubt that the ultimate success of THE CAUSE was due rather to the better discipline than superior valour of the army of THE NEW MODEL.

VI. RICHARD DEANE, in general characteristics, resembled his brother officers; but, if we may trust his epitaph, did not go with them to the full extent of that fanaticism for which so many of them were conspicuous. His principle was, in matters of conscience, “*neither to compel, nor to be compelled.*” This he considered to be “*the golden Liberty.*” But he seems to have been misunderstood, as moderate men generally are. Because he was not

* A remarkable instance of this occurred in the case of Quartermaster Barthelemy, who was tried by court-martial, for blasphemy, March 4, 164 $\frac{1}{2}$. He was found guilty, and sentenced to have his tongue bored through with a hot iron; his sword to be broken over his head; and then to be cashiered. See Whitelocke.

† Sprigge, p. 323.

a fanatic, he was set down as a sceptic, or a "Gallio." Prince, the biographer of "The Worthies of Devon," takes occasion, in his memoir of General Monk, to describe his colleague, General Richard Deane, as a "*Behmist*,"* and says that "private devotion was not habitual with him." If so, he was certainly not one of those officers who were "much in prayer, and in expounding the scriptures" to the soldiers.

Prince evidently thought that he belonged to that sect of fanatics who considered themselves to have attained to such a transcendental state of piety, as to have no further occasion for praying, which was only incumbent upon the unregenerate. The regenerate were beyond all ordinances!

There is no other evidence than this bare assertion of Prince that Richard Deane belonged to this religious, or rather irreligious, sect, who refined upon the principles of Gallio by making it a duty of religion to neglect all religious duties.

I am inclined to think that Prince confounded the two sects of JACOB BEHMEN and MICHAEL BEHM, and that Richard Deane was a disciple of the latter, and not of the former, who was much more of a visionary.

Michael Behm was the follower of Calixtus of Sleswig, who drew up a scheme called by the Germans *syneretism*. It was a comprehensive system of Christianity, designed to embrace all the Christian Churches in one Universal Church, by a

* Sprigge, p. 590.

mutual surrender of unimportant points of doctrine and discipline—a sort of “Evangelical Alliance,” such as the late King of Prussia and his friend Chevalier Bunsen were so anxious to establish. Thus it was proposed that the Church of Rome should give up Popery, and fall back upon the fundamentals of faith held by her in the fourth century, and that the Churches of Luther, and Calvin, and other Reformers, should abate some of their anti-Roman tenets, and meet in the common centre of the Holy Scriptures.

This scheme had the recommendation of a large spirit of benevolence, but proceeded upon the notion that all schismatics are rational beings, and have a common and honest object, whereas it is notorious that the natural repugnance of the human mind to uniformity and conformity is only to be overcome by the force of authority, and that, left to itself, the “Protestant” temper has a tendency to run into what it calls INDEPENDENCY—which is, in reality, an euphuism for spiritual rebellion. Human passions and private interests will always stand in the way of every theory of a comprehensive Church. If the truly scriptural and moderate Church of England, whose main principle is comprehension, cannot prevent the flying off of innumerable splinters from THE ROCK, however small and insignificant the pebble which any little would-be David may throw at it, no scheme, however sanctioned, can possess that attraction of cohesion which shall bind together the wise and the foolish, the good and

the bad, the conservative and the destructive, the rational and the irrational, into one universal Church of Christian faith and charity. "*Fiat mixtura!*" is easily written by the physician, but it requires a cunning chemist to mix oil and vinegar.

Richard Deane has left no intimation, either in his will or correspondence, of any peculiar bias towards any of the numerous religious sects of his times. The only contemporary allusion to his opinions which I have found is in one of the Royalist lampoons of 1649, written on the occasion of his appointment as one of the generals at sea, which recommends the sailors to "*new-dip* Deane," by throwing him overboard. From this expression, I infer that he was at that time an *Anabaptist*. But his religion, whatever it was, had very little of the puritanical leaven about it. His letters, of which several still remain in the State Paper Office, are remarkably free from the conventional cant of the day. They are all characterised by sound common sense, and a practical turn of mind, and only deviate into religious rhapsody—and that of a very subdued kind—after clearly conveying his meaning in plain and intelligible terms; and this, rather in accommodation with the fashion of the times, and in condescension to the dull fanaticism of his correspondents. He wrenches himself, for a moment, from reason, in order that he may secure the attention of the irrational, who might despise him as a Gallio if he closed his letter without any of the ordinary expressions of the "Saints" who were then "in-

heriting the earth." And in this he showed himself to be the "*notable shrewd man*" which John Lilburne calls him.*

The same characteristics of a calm, clear judgment are seen in his last will and testament, in which, so far from finding any indication of the zealot, we cannot discover the slightest traces of even ordinary Puritanism. It is the will of a sober-minded man, who "*bequeaths his soul to Almighty God, and his body to the earth,*" and then proceeds to dispose of his earthly goods, with the sagacity and forethought of an affectionate husband and father, without the common but profitless parade of his own personal convictions.

I strongly suspect that his religion was more like that of his comrade Richard Ingoldesby, of whom Richard Cromwell no less sensibly than wittily said, "There is Dick Ingoldesby! he neither preaches nor prays, and yet I will trust him before you all!"

As to *practical* Christianity, that of Richard Deane must have been genuine, or his posthumous panegyrist, J. R., would hardly have dared to say of him—

"So fair without, so free from spot within,
That earth seemed here to be exempt from sin."

* In his letter from Bruges, Feb. 4, 1653, to D.D. of the United Provinces.

CHAPTER IX.

THE RESCUE OF THE KING FROM THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSIONERS BY THE ARMY.—DISSENSIONS OF THE ARMY AND PARLIAMENT.—ADVANCE OF THE ARMY TO LONDON.—FLIGHT OF THE PRESBYTERIAN LEADERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—NEGOCIATIONS BETWEEN THE KING AND THE ARMY.

I. Hitherto the war had been between the King and the Parliament. We are now coming to a new phase of hostilities—between the Parliament and the Army.

At the commencement of 1647 the head-quarters of the Army were at St. Alban's, from whence they sent a "HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE"—the first of its kind, but not the last—to Parliament, in which are these remarkable words: "We do clearly profess that we cannot see how there can be any peace to the Kingdom, firm or lasting, without a due consideration of provision for the rights, quiet, and immunity of His Majesty, his Royal Family, and his late partisans." These are strong and startling expressions when we look at the names of those who signed this "remonstrance." They were twenty field-officers in number, viz., *Cromwell*, *Hammond*, *Ireton*, *Bradshaw*, *Hardress Waller*, *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Rich*, *Lilburne*, *Okey*, *Hewson*, *Scrope*, *Harrison*, *Pride*, *Barkstead*, *Horton*, *Richard Deane*, *Corbet*, *Evers*, and *Goffe*, of whom no less

than sixteen, within two years of this date, signed the death-warrant of the King! Their names are distinguished by *italics*.

It is evident, then, that at this date the Army had no designs against the life of the King, and that the regicidal conspiracy was unborn. The sole object of the Army was to get possession of the person of the King, that it might act with his authority. This was not possible so long as the Scots retained their hold upon him; and to loosen this hold, Fairfax, after this "remonstrance," marched to Northampton, and there fixed his head-quarters, in observation upon the Scotch army, at Newcastle.

The Scots kept the King in respectful, but secure custody, partly because their Parliament did not know what to do with him, and, therefore, would not have him, for he refused to take the Solemn League and Covenant; and partly because the possession of him gave them an *in terrorem* influence over the Parliament of England, of whom they claimed large arrears of pay.

After many negotiations the King was delivered over on the thirtieth of January—ominous day!—to nine Parliamentary Commissioners, three Lords and six Commoners, who paid over and took receipts for £200,000, which the Scots pretended was due to them for arrears, but which the English Commissioners knew to be the price of the King's ransom. This money, it is said, did not go towards the payment of the Scottish army, but was divided between the Marquises of Hamilton and Argyle,

and their friends Archibald Johnstone and the most rabid of the Presbyterian clergy of Scotland. Hamilton is said to have had £30,000 for his own share;* if so, his subsequent fate, as well as that of Argyle, was richly merited. The King, regarding these transactions in their true light, is reported to have exclaimed—“*Then I am bought and sold!*”—and never was a truer exclamation. The guilt of the transaction lies between those who bought and those who sold their Sovereign. The Parliament and the Scots—the Sanhedrim and Judas—divide it between them. Immediately after this the Scottish army evacuated Newcastle and Carlisle, which they had held, as they said, in security for their arrears of pay, and marched back to their own country, leaving the King in the hands of the Parliamentary Commissioners, who brought him to Holdenby House, in Northamptonshire, a manor house built in the reign of Elizabeth, by Chancellor Hatton, and purchased by James I. for his son Charles, then Duke of York, so that it was, in reality, the private property of the King. Here they detained him until the beginning of June, keeping up, indeed, a little Court about him, but suffering none but Presbyterian chaplains to approach his presence, which galled him more than any other indignity to which he had been subjected. The object was to get him to consent to the abolition of Episcopacy, and the

* *Montrose and the Covenanters*, by Napier, ii. 516.

establishment of that Presbyterian form of Church government for which a bill had lately passed both Houses. This the King most strenuously resisted to the last moment of his life.

II: In this month of February the Parliament prepared to take another step, which ultimately proved fatal to themselves. This was the reduction of the army, without even expressing an intention of paying them up their arrears of pay, much less of giving them the expected donative for their services.

After a debate of three days it was carried to dismiss all except 5,400 horse, 1,000 dragoons, and as many infantry as would be sufficient to garrison forty-five castles and fortified places, which were all that the Government meant to keep up. It was also proposed to put the army under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, as general-in-chief, but not to allow any officers under him to have a higher rank than that of colonel. This seems to have been directed against Oliver Cromwell, whose dangerous ascendancy was beginning to be felt, and whose popularity with the army was dreaded by the Presbyterians, then dominant in parliament. For his principles of Independency were equally fatal to an establishment, whether of Bishops or Presbyters.

The civil and military powers were now in open antagonism, and the result was not doubtful; for those who had virtually thrown off their hereditary

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King, were not likely to be long subservient to a feeble oligarchy of civilians.

A council of the Army was held on the 1st of March, at which were present representatives of every grade of commissioned officers—viz. eleven colonels, three lieutenant-colonels, eleven majors, nineteen captains, nine lieutenants, six cornets, one ensign, and five quarter-masters, under the presidency of the Lord-General. Three field officers were absent from this meeting—viz., *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and *Richard Deane*. The two former were, probably, watching, “in their place” in parliament, the course of events; the last may have been “on leave” upon private business, which may have been his marriage; for, from all that I can infer by a comparison of dates, it was about this time that Richard Deane married his wife Mary, whose maiden name I have elsewhere conjectured to have been *Grimsditch*. A family of that name was at that time living not far from St. Alban’s, where the army had lately had its head-quarters—namely, at *Much Hadham*. But I regret to say that a search in the registers of both Much and Little Hadham, for evidence of such marriage, has not been attended with success. He was with the army again at the end of May. The object of this general council of March 1, 164^e/₇, is not very clearly expressed, but its result is plain enough. The army broke up its cantonments immediately after the council, and marched towards London, in order to take up a more commanding

position, in support of their friends in parliament. Their halting place was Saffron Walden, an easy distance from London, and here they rested, to give the Parliament an opportunity for repentance.

This *ruse* had an immediate effect. The House of Commons, in a panic, voted an assessment of £60,000 a-month, for one year, for the pay of the soldiers, but caused petitions to be got up for the removal of the army to a greater distance from the capital; and it was voted that they should not come within twenty miles of London. This vote was passed on the 17th of March. But the terrified House was not satisfied with this precaution. Another plan was, therefore, devised to get rid of the *incubus*. It was proposed, in order to diminish the strength of the army, to send a part of it to Ireland. To forward this measure a deputation of "The Committee of Derby House for the Affairs of Ireland," was sent to Saffron Walden, to sound Fairfax as to how it would be received by the army. Fairfax immediately called a council of officers, and their resolution was, that, before they would entertain the question, they must know who were to be their commanders, and what was to be their pay; and, in conclusion, they repeated the demand of their arrears, and a donative, in acknowledgment of their past services.

This, in ordinary times, would have been downright mutiny, but the Government was too weak to resent it. The Commissioners reported the failure

of their appeal to the army, and the House of Commons ordered five military officers, members of their own House — viz. Commissary-General Ireton, Lieutenant-General Hammond, Lieutenant-Colonel Hammond his nephew, Colonel Robert Lilburne, and Lieutenant-Colonel Grimes, to appear at the bar of the House, and be examined as to the feelings of the army with regard to the Irish question; and, in order to terrify the army into submission, it was voted that the regiments of Poyntz, Copley, and Bethel, all staunch Presbyterians, should be part of the 5,400 horse who were to remain at home, and not go to Ireland.

This vote exciting a strong sensation, it was amended on the 8th of April, and the regiments of Fairfax, Cromwell, Rossiter, and Whalley were also exempted—the rest of the army being ordered to go. But this sop also failed of effect.

On the 15th of April the Commissioners again went to Saffron Walden, and tried to coax the officers into accepting Skippon and Massey as the generals of the expedition—to which also they strongly objected; for they knew that Massey was an intolerant Presbyterian. But they said that if Fairfax and Cromwell were to be their leaders, they would take Skippon as third in command.

The deputation returned in dismay, for they found that the Presbyterian cause had very few friends in the camp. The House of Commons came to the same conclusion, and began to debate on the advisability of disbanding the whole army, and

of raising a better affected one in its place, but, as they could not come to any agreement, they adjourned the debate from the 23rd to the 27th of April. On that day Hollis, who was the leader of the Presbyterian party, urged the disbanding, with six months' pay in advance; and moved that four of the principal officers of the army should be summoned by the serjeant-at-arms to answer for their contumacy. This was a bold but fatal suggestion, for, as soon as it was made known to the Army, a "PETITION," signed by Lieutenant-General Hammond, 14 colonels and lieutenant-colonels, 6 majors, and 130 captains and subalterns, was got up and presented to the House, complaining of the misrepresentations of themselves, and of their harmless intentions: and after insisting upon their right of petitioning the House, and professing their attachment to the Commonwealth, they concluded with reiterating their demands for arrears of pay. This was sufficiently alarming; but the military disaffection did not stop here. The non-commissioned officers and privates took up the quarrel, and established a permanent council of their own—a sort of military Parliament, independent of the General Council of Officers, on the representative system, consisting of two non-commissioned officers, and two privates out of every regiment, to be called by the name of ADJUTATORS, or assistants to the officers in watching over their common interests.

This was a very irregular proceeding, and totally subversive of military discipline; but, as it mani-

fested the dissatisfaction of the soldiers with their treatment by the Government, Oliver Cromwell (who is suspected of suggesting this Council) directed its debates and measures through his instrument, Berry, a captain in the Lord-General's Regiment of Horse.

The superior officers, generally, appeared to discountenance the Adjutators, calling them, not without reason, *Agitators*—which they very soon became.

This council of Adjutators held regular meetings in camp, and at length put forth what they called a MANIFESTO to the House of Commons, which they sent up by three troopers, *Saxby, Allen, and Shepherd*, and it was actually read in the House! It protested against service in Ireland; demanded the arrears of pay, and exclaimed against the tyranny of disbanding, or drafting the soldiers into other regiments, &c.

When this extraordinary document had been read, Cromwell rose in his place, and entreated the House “not to discourage the poor soldiers, and drive them to despair.” And the House was frightened into commissioning Cromwell himself, with Ireton, Skippon, and Fleetwood, to repair to head-quarters, and assure the Army that their case should be inquired into, and that ample justice should be done to them—if they would but submit to the wishes of Parliament and the wants of the nation, and go to Ireland as required. The Commissioners found the Army divided in opinion.

Some were for accepting the offers of the Parliament; but others, who were the great majority, and led by Lambert, were for the "redress of grievances," before they would even admit the question to discussion. While Cromwell and his colleagues were absent upon this mission, the House of Commons, anxious to get him out of the way, appointed him by a vote, *May 28*, "Lord-General of the forces in Ireland;" and on the same day resolved that "*Richard Deane*, now Comptroller of the Artillery of Sir Thomas Fairfax, be appointed Lieutenant of the Artillery in Ireland. The Lords' concurrence to be had thereon."* The Lords concurring, *Richard Deane* became—so far as the two Houses could make him—"Lieutenant," or second in command under Cromwell, of all the artillery in Ireland—a post equivalent to that of a Major-General in the army. These appointments were evidently intended to get rid of two men of whom the House began to entertain suspicions and alarms. Cromwell was at the head of the Opposition to the Presbyterian interest, and Deane was looked upon as a resolute and formidable instrument in the hands of Cromwell, ready and able to carry out his measures against the House. In this they were not mistaken, as the sequel proved. But they had to deal with men as subtle as themselves; one, at least, saw through their benevolent motives. Cromwell postponed compliance with the wishes of the House, and Richard Deane followed his lead.

* Journal of the House of Commons.

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“Coming events” at-home were “casting their shadows before,” and the “Lord-General” designate in Ireland and his “Lieutenant of Ordnance” preferred remaining in England, the one to be nominally second to Fairfax, the other to become “*Adjutant-General to the Army.*”

III. On the return of Cromwell and the Commissioners to London, and on hearing their report, Hollis and his supporters—judicially blinded to the truth—gathered courage from the reported disunion in the camp, and too hastily passed a vote that all regiments “which would not engage for Ireland should be disbanded !”

Fairfax, who was in London at the time watching proceedings, no sooner heard of this vote, than he repaired to the army, and marched them off the next day to Bury St. Edmund’s; and the Adjutors at the same time demanded a *Rendezvous*—that is, a general meeting of the Army—on the subject of their grievances, threatening that if it were not granted by their officers they would hold it without them.

This was going too fast and too far, although in the right direction, and no officer could countenance it. But it was the natural result of allowing the “Representative System” in camp, and even Cromwell began to repent of having encouraged it.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, who was a conscientious Presbyterian, saw at once the necessity of a concession on the part of the Presbyterians in Parlia-

ment, and urged it upon them; but Hollis and his party were deaf to the warnings of Fairfax, and flattered themselves that in this departure from discipline of the privates they saw the desired weakening of the influence of the officers.

They accordingly persisted in their resolution to disband the army, and sent the Earl of Warwick, Lord de la Warr, and Sir Gilbert Gerard to act with Sir Thomas Fairfax in carrying out their order. But Fairfax would neither act with them nor allow them to act without him. Thus Parliament was again in difficulties, and matters were brought to a crisis which was decided by the prompt energy of Oliver Cromwell.

This master-stroke was the seizure of the King, at Holdenby House, by Cornet Joyce, on the 3rd of June, a proceeding which *might* have originated in a secret resolution of the Adjutors, but is much more likely to have been planned by Cromwell, as Joyce always persistently maintained.

The possession of the King's person, in the existing state of affairs, was of the utmost importance. Whichever party had and could produce the King would seem to be acting under the King's authority, and the reverential, nay, almost enthusiastic reception of His Majesty by the country people in his progress from Newcastle to Holdenby House proved that the instinct of loyalty to the King was still alive in the breasts of many of his subjects.

No one knew better than Cromwell that "the King's name was a tower of strength" to a cause,

but no one more clearly perceived the odium of a violent seizure of his person. While, therefore, he determined to obtain possession of him, he was equally cautious not to appear an actor in any deed of violence. Accordingly, having, through Captain Berry, procured the secret services of a sufficient number of troopers for any design upon which Berry might put them, his own powers of discrimination and knowledge of the individual pointed out Cornet Joyce as the fit person to be employed in the adventure, both on account of his resolute character and his personal insignificance. An obscure individual, without rank or credit, was the very man for his purpose. No one would believe the oath of such a person in opposition to his bare assertion! And so it came to pass. For when Joyce afterwards declared in the camp that the Lieutenant-General had employed him to seize the King, Cromwell had only to say (as he did) that "*it was a lie!*" to be implicitly believed.

On one occasion Joyce was so provokingly obstinate in maintaining his "*lie,*" that Cromwell, bursting into a passion, real or assumed, drew his sword upon him, and was with some difficulty persuaded by "*Colonel Deane and others*" to pardon his insolence.

This anecdote we learn from a memoir of Joyce in the Harleian Miscellanies, and the circumstantiality with which the incident is related leaves no room for questioning its truth, while the manner in which the interposition of *Colonel Deane* is noticed

indicates an unusual degree of intimacy and influence possessed by Richard Deane with Oliver Cromwell. The passage is so curious that I make no apology for inserting it at length.

“Not long after Joyce, with some other officers, went with a petition to St. Alban’s, to General Fairfax, and, while he was waiting for an answer, Cromwell took occasion to fall out with him, and in a railing manner called him ‘*rascal!*’ many times, and, with great threats, said that he would make him write a vindication of him against a book entitled ‘*The Grand Design discovered,*’ wherein were many things delivered concerning Cromwell’s carriage towards Joyce, before he went to Holdenby for the King, which afterwards he called God to witness he knew nothing of, and, had it not been for *Colonel Deane* and others, who (through the mercy of God) preserved him, he had, in all probability, have done him some mischief.”*

Cornet Joyce’s declaration, that in seizing the King he was acting under the orders of Cromwell, is also mentioned by Colonel John Lilburne:—
“Cornet Joyce being told that the General was displeased with him for bringing the King from Holdenby, answered that Lieutenant-General Cromwell had given him an order *in London* to do what he had done; and I, John Lilburne, have heard from very good hands, that it was delivered to him

* “A true narration of the occasions and causes of the late Lord-General’s anger and indignation against Lieut.-Col. Joyce.” Harl. Misc. viii. 304, Scott’s edition.

in Cromwell's own garden in Drury Lane, Colonel Fleetwood being by."*

When this exploit was performed Joyce was at Oxford and Cromwell in London, but on the very day that Joyce set out for Holdenby House Cromwell hastily left London, on horseback, and without stopping, except to bait at Ware, rode on to Triploe Heath in Cambridgeshire, where the Army was encamped, and galloping into the cantonment, with his horse covered with foam, declared that he had fled for his life from the enemies of the Army! and was of course enthusiastically welcomed. He was accompanied by *Hugh Peters*, who was always one of the small conclave to whom he imparted his designs.†

IV. From Holdenby Joyce took the King to Childersley House, near Newmarket, the seat of Sir John Cutts, where, on the 7th of June, Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, Skippon, Hammond, Lambert, Whalley, *Deane*, and other officers, as also Mr. Hugh Peters, Mr. Dell, Mr. Sedgwick, and others, visited His Majesty. *All the officers* of the army, so soon as they came into the presence, *kissed His Majesty's hand*, and *all kneeled*, except Fairfax and Cromwell.‡ “The King took Sir Thomas Fairfax aside, and, for about half-an hour, was discoursing with him. The General (unasked) denounced His

* “Impeachment of High Treason against Oliver Cromwell, by John Lilburne,” p. 55.

† “Trial of Hugh Peters,” evidence of Dr. Young.

‡ Appendix to Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii.

Majesty's seizure by Joyce, as done without his order or approbation."*

Richard Deane was at this time *Adjutant-General* of the Army, a full colonel, and had a regiment of foot which, in the following year, did good service in the field under his command. There is some reason for thinking, with Sir Walter Scott,† that at this interview of the officers with His Majesty matters approached more nearly to a reconciliation than they had ever done before or ever did afterwards. The officers are said to have proposed these terms to the King :—

1. An equal national representation in Parliament freely chosen.
2. Two Houses of Parliament, who were to nominate to the command of the Militia for fourteen years.
3. An establishment of the order of Bishops, but without any temporal power or coercive jurisdiction.
4. The surrender of seven of the King's counsellors (who were named) to be excepted from pardon.

The King, we are told, consented to the first three, but resolutely refused the fourth article, upon which the treaty was broken off.

It is certain from the testimony of the King's servant, Herbert, that the bearing of the officers towards His Majesty was respectful, and that the King was glad to escape from the hands of the Parliamentary Commissioners, who persecuted him with ecclesiastical matters, and deprived him of

* Herbert, p. 35.

† "Tales of a Grandfather," ch. 45.

his chaplains, whom Sir Thomas Fairfax restored, and permitted to use the Church Liturgy.

Of the two chaplains, Marshall and Caryll, imposed by the Commissioners upon the King, Heath gives the following characters :—

“ Marshall was an Amphibium or Hermaphrodite of Presbytery and Independency, and Caryll a downright Independent; both of them so unacceptable to the King that he would by no means admit either of them to preach before him, which begat such a disgust in Caryll, that he mightily promoted ever after the Independents' slander of the King's obstinacy.”*

Fairfax allowed the King to recall his old chaplains, Dr. Sheldon and Dr. Hammond, who officiated in public, using the Liturgy of the Church, at which the House of Commons was so scandalised that they wrote peremptorily to the General ordering him to deliver up the King to their Commissioners, and to send him, under escort of Colonel Rossiter's regiment, to Richmond; to which order Fairfax paid no attention, which was the more remarkable that he was himself a sincere and earnest Presbyterian, and so far must have sympathised with the prevailing party in the House of Commons. On the other hand, his professional indignation was excited by their shamefully ungrateful conduct towards the army, and he was by no means satisfied with their tyrannical interference with the private devotions of the King. They had taken up arms to protect their own religious

* Chronicle, p. 125.

liberties, and now they were using them to oppress the religious liberty of the King. The conscience of Fairfax would not allow him to be a party to such persecution, and therefore he interposed the shield of his own power between the helplessness of Charles and the bigotry of his Parliament. In this he acted like an honest man, as he was, and has secured the approbation and admiration of posterity.

V. The Army as well as the Parliament was now distinctly divided into the two factions of Presbyterians and Independents; but in reversed proportions. For, whereas in Parliament the majority belonged to the former Sect, in the Army the latter predominated, and were daily increasing in numbers with new recruits—for the disease had become epidemic in the nation. The great question between these two parties was the expediency or in expediency of a State Church Establishment: both were agreed upon the dis-establishment of Episcopacy.

Cromwell was not only at the head of the Independents in the army, but he was now beginning to be regarded as the chief and champion of that cause in the nation. Having renounced Episcopacy, he consistently denounced Presbyterianism. "Episcopacy pretended Apostolical authority on its side, and, that authority being denied, every man was left to the guidance of his own conscience in matters of faith; and Presbyterianism making no

pretences to Apostolical succession, and being unable to prove its Apostolic institution, had no more claim to the vacated authority of the Church than any other sect of Christian Dissenters." Such was Cromwell's argument, and there was no sufficient answer to it. The nation, at least by a large majority, accepted it as conclusive. The great question of "CHURCH OR NO CHURCH" involved no less a principle than KING OR NO KING; and it was freely discussed by both parties, and by some of their pamphleteers with much humour.

Mercurius Pragmaticus remarks of the army in 1647:—

"Suppose we had an army of SAINTS on foot, yet as long as they are in the flesh we cannot be sure that they will overcome the World and the Devil, as they did the Cavaliers. And it is to be feared now they have gotten the King, and are at the highest pinnacle of fortune, the Tempter may come and show them the kingdoms of the earth, and the glories of them; and then the question is, whether they may not fall down to the worship of him, and dividing of this as they seem in part to have done already."

The same writer,* who seems to have looked more deeply into the real state of affairs than his contemporaries, heads a subsequent number (5) of his paper with an epigrammatic effusion worthy of a wit of the Court of Charles the Second.

* Marchmont Needham. He was first a Roundhead and afterwards a Cavalier—bought over (it was said) by a pension of £100 a-year. There were several other pamphleteers of the same stamp on both sides—Cleveland, Withers, Lilly, Wildman, and Flaxman. Of whom Wildman was as good and as versatile as Needham. He first wrote against the Royalists, then against Cromwell, and then for him—"for a consideration."

1.

A Scot and Jesuit, joined in hand,
 First taught the world to say
 That subjects ought to have command,
 And Princes to obey.

2.

These both agreed to cry, "NO KING!"
 The Scotchman, he goes further.
 "NO BISHOP!"—'tis a goodly thing,
 States to reform with murther.

3.

The Independent, meek and sly,
 Next lowly lies in lurch;
 And so to put poor Jockie by
 Resolves to have NO CHURCH!

4.

The King dethroned, the subjects bleed:
 The Church hath no abode.
 Let us conclude they are agreed
 That, sure, there is—NO GOD!

Another writer, *Mercurius Melancholicus* (Sep. 11, 1647), is equally severe upon the Presbyterians:—

Nought but Presbytery for current passes,
 Compounded of Young Elders and Old Asses.
 Lovers of war they be, more than of schools,
 A mixed Government--of knaves and fools!

At the same time, being probably a Royalist, he does not spare the Independents:—

Think not because you're perch'd upon the throne,
 Your are cock-sure of all, that All's your own!
 The game's not lost as yet; but there I'll stick—
 An English game may have an *Irish Trick!*

The allusion in the last line is to the state of affairs in Ireland, which began about this time to look favourably for the King. The Duke of Ormonde held out hopes that he should be able to restore the King's authority there; and it was, unfortunately, the great reliance which the King placed upon the success of this diversion which prevented him from coming to terms with Fairfax. For we cannot suppose that Fairfax would have insisted too severely upon the sacrifice of the seven advisers of the King; and upon the other three articles they would have had no difficulty in coming to an agreement upon modified terms.

The one great grief of the King, which haunted him through life, was his abandonment of Strafford—at the instigation, it is said, of the Queen, the real cause of whose enmity against that able and unfortunate Minister has not, I believe, been yet ascertained. With this load upon his mind, Charles could not consent to sacrifice his seven faithful servants to the vengeance of the Parliament; and Fairfax was too generous to have insisted upon it, if it had been the only difficulty in the way of reconciliation. It was the "*Irish Trick*" which destroyed the "*English Game*"—and so it ever has been, and ever will be, as long as our Statesmen continue to make Ireland the battle-field of Place. All movements in that direction are false—all principles hollow, and all hope delusion.

VI. The possession of the King's person gave a

great moral influence to the Army in their negotiations with the Parliament, and they were not slow to take advantage of it. For however irregularly the King had come into their power, and however truly and earnestly Fairfax may have repudiated all cognizance of Joyce's proceedings, yet he could not but regard the event as a fortunate acquisition, not to be wantonly rejected. We may even imagine him acquiescing in Cromwell's or Hugh Peters's view of the matter—that it was a “mercy,” which it was profane to leave unimproved. He set a guard of honour—and of safe custody—over the King; treating him with every possible respect and indulgence. And the first few weeks which Charles passed under his protection, were probably the happiest he had known since these dissensions with his subjects broke out. He enjoyed, unrestricted, the society of his chaplains and his attached servants—and *his daily game of chess!*

But these few weeks were the last of his tranquillity.

From Newmarket he was conveyed to Royston, Hatfield, Woburn Abbey, Windsor, and finally to Hampton Court; always attended by his own servants and a guard of horse, under the command of Cromwell's cousin, Colonel Whalley.

The King kept up his spirits during this progress in a wonderful manner. “He was,” says Herbert, “the merriest of the company, having, as it seems, a confidence in the Army, especially from some of the greatest there, as was imagined.”

Even Sir Philip Warwick remarks that “the deep bloody-heated Independents all this while used the King very civilly, admitting several of his servants and some of his chaplains to attend him, and officiate by the Service-book.”

Far different was the feeling between the Parliament and the Army. As soon as the House of Commons heard that they were bringing the King to London, they took alarm at the possible consequences, and passed a resolution prohibiting the army from coming within forty miles of London. This was on the 10th of June. On the 11th the Army retaliated from their head-quarters, St. Alban's, with a formal accusation against eleven of the leading Presbyterians—Members of the House: viz. *Hollis, Waller, Clotworthy, Stapleton, Lewis, Maynard, Massey, Harley, Glyn, Long, and Nicholls*. And, to give greater force to their proceedings, issued manifestoes to, and received addresses of confidence from, the Eastern counties, through which they passed on their march to London. These addresses, which were probably prompted or “improved” by Cromwell, called upon them to expel such Members from the House as had been “guilty of delinquency, corruption, or abuse of power; or had obtained their seats by undue elections.”

The House of Commons, more and more alarmed, repeated their prohibition of a nearer approach; and the Army approached nearer and nearer, carrying with them the famous REMONSTRANCE, which had

* R. Symonds's Diary, p. 7.

been drawn up at St. Alban's on the 25th June, and addressed to Sir Thomas Fairfax, calling upon him to see them righted in their just demands. To this Remonstrance the name of *Richard Deane* is affixed as *Adjutant-General of the Army*.

From St. Alban's the Army marched to Berkhamstead and Uxbridge, and the terror of the proscribed Eleven became extreme. They absconded from the House, until reassured by the retirement of the army to High Wycombe, when they again appeared in their places, and, as if judicially blinded, conducted themselves with still greater violence—exasperating, by their debates and resolutions, not only the Independents in the army, but also all those civilians in and out of the House who held the same opinions. They got up petitions in the City for the “*Suppression of Conventicles*,” that is, for the prohibition of religious services in any buildings not being churches under Presbyterian government. This was a blow aimed at the Army through its civilian supporters in London; and the quarrel became internecine—one of the worst effects of which was to disgust Fairfax and the moderate Presbyterians of the Army, who from henceforth made common cause with their comrades the Independents, and agreed with them that “civil and religious liberty” were not a whit more safe in the hands of the intolerant Eleven, than they had been in those of the once persecuting Archbishop.

The party in Parliament were not yet daunted.

Bold in their numbers they called out the City militia, and placed it under the command of Massey, Waller, and Poyntz, three able men and devoted to their party, but destitute of the means of giving it any effectual assistance; for except the Trained Bands they had no troops under their commands sufficiently disciplined to make head against the veterans of Fairfax and Cromwell. And even their initiatory measures for recruiting were suddenly checked by the audacity of their civil opponents in the City, who rushed into Guildhall while Massey and Poyntz were enrolling volunteers, and broke up the assembly, in spite of the drawn swords of the generals and the slashes which they received from them.

The Hollis party then procured the signatures of an hundred thousand citizens, after the model of the Solemn League and Covenant, by which the undersigned bound themselves to keep out the Army and bring the King to Westminster, for the purpose of concluding a Treaty of Peace with the Parliament. And finally, and fatally, they incited a large mob of apprentices and idle youths to beset the Houses of Parliament and clamour for *their* Covenant. This was on the 26th of July, and the immediate effect was the withdrawal of the small knot of Independents from both Houses, together with the two Speakers, the Earl of Manchester of the Lords and Mr. Lenthall of the Commons, who, pretending to consider their lives in danger, fled for protection to the Army, then encamped on Houns-

low Heath, thus supplying it with the only sanction they wanted, a semblance of authority, of which they were not slow in availing themselves. For with the King, and the Speakers of both Houses, they could plausibly pretend that all the estates of the kingdom were on their side. It did not affect the question in their eyes that only fifteen Lords and one hundred Commons formed this refuge Parliament. It was enough that they had got both the Speakers.

Supported by this "Parliament" Fairfax issued a "DECLARATION" which, to all intents and purposes, was a Declaration of War against the *Rebels* of London and Westminster. Massey, in return for this affront, proposed to attack a party of the Army stationed at Brentford, hoping to overcome them by numbers and surprise—but the citizens refused to allow him to move out of the City, and began to fortify and barricade the streets, which they, perhaps justly, considered their only chance of safety.

Fairfax, upon this, sent Colonel Rainsborough round through Kingston to Southwark, with a strong party of horse and foot, and Southwark was delivered up to his advanced guard under Hewson, without a blow, by Colonel Hardwick, the Commander of the Trained Bands of that suburb. The rest of the "attack" was a promenade. Rainsborough and his division marched over London Bridge unopposed, and through the heart of the City to Westminster, the men wearing bay-leaves in their hats. They were followed by the whole

army of Fairfax, who triumphantly re-seated the fugitive Speakers in their chairs. This occurred on the 6th of August, just two months after the Army had gained possession of the King's person.

This high-handed proceeding was celebrated by a day of *public thanksgiving*; and the Corporation of London, lately so defiant, gave a dinner to the chief officers of the Army, with all the usual demonstrations of welcome and delight.

The "Parliament," now "restored" to Westminster, expressed their gratitude to Sir Thomas Fairfax by appointing him "Commander-in-Chief of all the forces in England and Wales," and Constable of the Tower of London; voting, at the same time, a gratuity of one month's pay to the army.

All the Presbyterian governors of forts were supplanted by Independents. The blow was for the time terrible to the Presbyterian majority in Parliament. Hollis, Stapleton, Waller, Lewis, Clotworthy, and Long fled to France and were outlawed. The Lord Mayor, four Aldermen, the two chief officers of the Trained Bands, the Earls of Suffolk, Lincoln, and Middleton, and the Lords Willoughby of Parham, Hunsdon, Berkeley, and Maynard were declared traitors. The City Militia was disbanded, and all the "Declarations," &c., lately issued against the Army were recalled and cancelled, and an entirely new order of things was established.

Mercurius Melancholicus expressed his joy at the change in a characteristic copy of verses, retrospective and prophetic; and certainly there was

much in the present aspect of affairs to encourage Royalists. "The Thieves," they said, "were falling out, and honest men might hope to recover their own." The King was, indeed, a prisoner in the hands of a despotic army, but it required only a word of concession from him to re-establish his throne in Whitehall, as it was already established in the hearts of a vast majority of his people. Everything, according to the sanguine hopes of the Royalists, tended to this happy end, and "Mercurius" need be "Melancholicus" no longer—he bursts out, therefore, into the following Song of Triumph:—*

When as we lived in Peace (God wot !)

A King would not content us ;

But we, forsooth, must hire the Scot

To all-be-Parliament us.

Then down went King, and Bishops too ;

On went the holy work

Betwixt them and the Brethren Blue

T'advance the "*Crown and Kirk*."

But when that these had reigned a time,

Robbed *Kirk*, and sold the *Crown*,

A more religious sect up climb,

And throw the Jockies down.

But now we must have peace again,

Let none with fear be vext !

For if, without the King, they reign,

Then "heigh down !" they go next !

This prophecy was a bold one, but not unreasonable at the time ; for although the interregnum was longer than Mercurius anticipated, yet it came to

* No. 8, Jan. 1647.

an end in ten years, with the chief magician who had raised and quelled the storm of “*Civil and Religious Liberty.*”

VII. THE INDEPENDENTS being now fully established in power, sent twelve additional chaplains into the army to preach down any remains of Presbyterianism which might be still left in it, so baseless is the fabric of what is popularly called “RELIGIOUS LIBERTY,” whose real meaning is, liberty to think only as the predominant party thinks.

These chaplains are thus enumerated and described by one of their discomfited adversaries:—

“Mr. *Carter* (sometime parson of Bow); *Whitaker* and *Strong* of St. Dunstan’s; the two *Goodwins*, *Salloway*, *Symonds*, *Simpson* (the full-gutted fellow that breaks bread, and conventicles over capon and cock-broth at Alderman Andrewes his house in Lime Street); Mr. *Carrol* (sometime a *placebo* singer in Lincoln’s Inn, and afterwards a turncoat at Bridgefoot); Mr. *Bolton*, of St. Andrew’s Holborn (a good preacher, indeed, and one that hath the report of an honest man than any can live in the Army. I pray God honest Dr. Hackett have cause to think no worse of him!; and then *Marshall* and *Nye* (those pestilent firebrands of sedition!) bring up the rear, all of them being such as either will or must do their work for them at head-quarters. And if these be not sufficient, they have three more in Windsor, viz. *Bachelour* (the quondam Basquetier at Eaton, who never knew the degree of B.A.), *Knight*, the glassmaker, a brittle youth, and *Bacon*, the haberdasher.”*

This is the ordinary style of the political lampoons of the times, and all three parties—Royalist,

Presbyterian, and Independent—are equally choice in their epithets of abuse.

The expulsion of the enemies of the Army from the two Houses of Parliament having cleared the way for the redress of grievances, Fairfax withdrew his troops from London, and quartered them in the surrounding villages, far enough to relieve the City from its apprehensions, but near enough to control its political eccentricities. He fixed his own head-quarters at Putney, leaving three regiments at Whitehall and the Mews to protect the “Reformed” Parliament against any sudden invasion of the apprentices—formerly the first to throw off the yoke of the King, and now almost unanimous in desiring his restoration.

VIII. About this time a document of great importance was issued by *The Council of Officers*, who were in fact the real Government of the nation. It contained *Proposals for the Settlement of the Kingdom*. The composition of this paper is attributed to Ireton, who, having been educated at Oxford and the Inns of Court, had acquired the reputation of possessing the “pen of a ready writer,” and was usually employed in drawing up the Army manifestoes—especially those which emanated from the brain of his father-in-law, Cromwell, of which number this document was said to be one.

Oliver Cromwell had remarked that both King and Parliament had failed of success through *In-*

tolerance. He inferred, therefore, that TOLERATION was the true principle upon which future Governments must be founded to be successful. These PROPOSALS, accordingly, far outstripped in "liberality" anything of this kind that had yet been propounded to the people. Perfect civil and religious liberty were to be secured to the subject under a perfectly constitutional sovereign. All monopolies and all restrictions upon trade were to be abolished, and every real "grievance" redressed. On the other hand, the King was to be restored with more dignity and power than would have been allowed him by the Presbyterians, whose chief object was to keep all power in their own hands. The only point upon which there was likely to be a difference between the King and the council of officers was the Established Church, upon which neither was prepared to give way to the other, and there was no "happy medium" upon which they could agree; for Presbyterianism had been tried and found wanting, being pronounced by both King and army

"A mixed government of knaves and fools."

"Doubts have been raised," remarks a modern writer of English History,* "touching the sincerity of Cromwell and Ireton in their dealings with the King."

No doubt, however, existed *at the time* as to their ulterior objects among the more shrewd observers of events. For *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, December

* "Pict. Hist. of England," iii. 371.

22nd, 1647, plainly speaks of "*King Oliver*" and "*Prince Ireton*," and, certainly, from this date to the end of his life, the former, at least, was King *de facto*, and the latter would have been "Prince," had he not been cut off by a fatal fever under the walls of Limerick before Cromwell became Protector.

Some of the gentlemen of the chamber, apprehending the worst consequences from a quarrel between the King and the Army, were anxious that the "Proposals" should be accepted, trusting to time and the better feelings of the people to restore so much of the Monarchical power as could be exercised without oppression, and so much of the Church as could be governed by episcopacy without tyrannizing over nonconformists. Sir John Berkeley was one of these. He went to head-quarters and had an interview with the council of officers, and discussed the terms of the "Proposals" with Rainsborough and Ireton, promising his best influence with the King to induce him to accept them; but, on re-opening the subject with the King, he found him strongly opposed to them. Some private agency had been at work, and revived ancient apprehensions. Berkeley then got Ashburnham to join him, and they went together and had an interview with Cromwell, and a letter was drawn up between them for the King to sign; but the King put off his signature so long, that when he expressed himself willing to affix it, Cromwell and Ireton declared that "*it was too late!*" The Army had heard of the transaction, and began to look with jealousy

upon all private communications between the King and the generals. So, at least, said Oliver Cromwell. Whether he was at the bottom of this difficulty does not appear; but certainly there was a species of *imperium in imperio* in the Army which he had some trouble to regulate, and which had gone beyond the more legitimate control of Fairfax. This was the Council of Adjutators. Oliver Cromwell either was, or affected to be, unable to act without their concurrence. But the greater probability is, that he used them as a convenient instrument for the advancement of his own projects—for when they assumed too much, and were becoming dangerous to his own authority, he had no difficulty in suppressing them. As soon as the Adjutators became *Agitators* and *Levellers* he found out that “the Lord had done with them.”

Sir Thomas Fairfax was still, nominally, the chief general of the Army. It seems strange, therefore, that he should have been ignorant of these negotiations between the King and Cromwell, or that he should have thus quietly allowed himself to be made insignificant. The fact was, that Cromwell represented the opinions and feelings of the Army, which Fairfax did not, and he was, therefore, sought out by the King's friends as most likely to speak with authority as to what the Army wished or would do. It may have been that Fairfax was of a nature so scrupulously honest, that his mind revolted from everything in the shape of an intrigue; and, therefore, he would not, personally, have

anything to do with the negotiations. He might also have thought that, as the commander-in-chief appointed by the Parliament, it was beneath his dignity to meddle with such matters; and especially as they might have the appearance of a plot against the interests of the Parliament. He could not have been altogether ignorant of what was going on after Sir John Berkeley's visit to the council of officers, when he was himself presiding. The most reasonable view of the matter is, that Fairfax was fully aware of these proceedings, and that he entrusted the management of them to Cromwell—not liking to appear in them himself—and that Cromwell reported to him only just as much as he thought proper for his own interest.

It does not appear that Sir Thomas Fairfax ever departed from the sentiment which he expressed in his letter to Prince Rupert—that “the Crown of England is, and ever will be, where it ought to be; and that he was fighting to keep it there.” He never dreamed of a Republic any more than Hampden. He desired a limited Monarchy and a Constitutional Government of King, Lords, and Commons, certainly not less liberal than that of the Plantagenets, which the Tudors and Stuarts had converted into a despotism. He drew his sword, not against the Crown, but against the principles which would make an English King a German Emperor. His father's motto, *Viva el Rey, muerra il mal Gobierno!* was his own. He desired neither more nor less; and if it had rested upon his exertions only the

Revolution of 1688 would have been anticipated in 1648. But there were disturbing influences at work of which he was, at the time, ignorant, which secretly paralysed his honest endeavours; one of the principal of which was the machinations of the Scotch Commissioners sent by the Scotch Parliament to prevent the King from coming to any agreement with his English subjects. These artful intriguers assured the King that if he would break with Parliament and Army, give up Episcopacy, take the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and throw himself as King of Scotland upon the loyalty of his ancient and natural subjects, they had means enough to make him King of England also, more powerful by far than he ever could be by listening to the promises of an heretical Army or a turbulent Parliament, either of which would enslave him.

Courted on all sides, no wonder that the unfortunate King should temporise with all, with the intention, as he himself said in one of his intercepted letters to the Queen, "*of closing with that party which made him the best offer,*" especially as he had been credibly informed of the favourable aspect of affairs in Ireland under the energetic management of the Duke of Ormonde, and, by his own personal experience in his progress through the counties from Newcastle to London, was satisfied that the country people were, at heart, still loyal and devoted to him.

Much has been said of the insincerity and double dealings of Charles the First. But we should bear

in mind that he had lost the power of the sword, and had nothing left to rely upon but his own wisdom and wit in order to recover his kingly authority. Thrown from his high estate by violence, he would have been more or less than man if he had not made use of the only powers left to him to regain it. Had he succeeded by cunning—the world would have called it wisdom. No one would have found fault with his means of success, except the party which had been defeated by them. It is very well to say that “cunning is not wisdom,” that artifice is not honesty; this is sound doctrine to be laid down by the preacher or the moralist, but it is not one upon which the world acts, and prospers, in worldly things. No man ever rose to supreme power in a Nation, or ever long retained that power, without a large amount of dissimulation. Ancient and modern history tells the same tale; and it is not a little paradoxical that the so-called “LIBERALS” of our own times, who are so righteously indignant at the dissimulations of Charles, have no indignation to spare upon the dissimulations, intrigues, and falsehoods of Cromwell or the Buonapartes. They seem to regard every stratagem as lawful when employed against *legitimate* sovereigns, and only inexcusable when resorted to against usurpers.

Mrs. Hutchinson reports a dialogue between the King and Ireton, at Hampton Court, in which Charles is made to say, in justification of his want of candour, “*I shall play my game as well as I can.*” To which Ireton is made to reply, “*If your*

Majesty has a game to play, you must give us also liberty to play ours !”

This is clever, but almost too epigrammatic to be accepted as a faithful report of a conversation between two persons who were suspicious of each other's intentions, and naturally watching for an advantage. It seems rather to be a good excuse for “playing the game” which Ireton had already made up his mind to play.

It may, however, be a question whether, at this early date, the death or even deposition of the King had been determined upon by any one, unless it was Hugh Peters, who was charged at his trial in 1660, as having “compassed the King's death” so far back as the time of Joyce's raid upon Holdenby House. One of the Crown witnesses, Dr. Young, repeats a conversation which he had with Peters in July 1648, in which Peters is represented as saying, “When the King was taken away from Holmeby House, the Parliament had a design to have secured Oliver Cromwell and myself, being then in London, and as we rode to Ware we made a halt, and advised how we should settle the kingdom in peace, and dispose of the King. The result was this: *They should bring him to justice—try him for his life, and cut off his head!*”

In justice to Hugh Peters, it should be added that he positively denied having ever said these words, or anything that could be twisted into them, and the lapse of twelve years between the alleged conversation and the evidence makes it extremely

unlikely that Dr. Young has correctly stated the *ipsissima verba* of the speaker.

On the other hand, whether such a catastrophe as the King's execution was contemplated or not by Oliver Cromwell in 1647—and I am inclined to think that it was not until after the second war in 1648—all his measures tended to this end; and all the attempts of the unfortunate King to deliver himself from his enemies only accelerated his fate.

Of all those *ex post facto* arguers who, from the ill-success of Charles, infer his *deserved* failure, charging upon his insincerity the faults of his unparalleled circumstances of doubt, temptation, and difficulty, not one in an hundred thousand would, in a similar position, have acted differently; and not one in a million would so composedly lay down his life for conscience sake, or with such dignity endure the extremity of anguish, as he

Who nothing common did, nor mean,
Upon this memorable scene;
But with his keener eye
The axe's edge did trye,
Nor called the Gods, with vulgar spite,
To vindicate his helpless right;
But bowed his comely head,
Down as upon a bed.

CHAPTER X.

RIVAL INTRIGUES FOR THE POSSESSION OF THE KING'S PERSON.—HIS ESCAPE TO THE ISLE OF WIGHT.—IMPRISONMENT IN CARISBROOK CASTLE.—MUTINY OF THE LEVELLERS. — GENERAL RISING OF CAVALIERS. — SECOND CIVIL WAR.—BATTLE OF PRESTON.

I. The intrigues of the Parliament, of the Scottish Commissioners, and of the Army, led to events which have thrown a shade of dishonour upon them all. They are all charged, in turns, with practising upon the fears of the King by sending anonymous letters, warning him to be on his guard against assassins, and even mentioning persons by name who were plotting against his life. A letter signed E. R. informed him that "the Agitators intended to seize him, and that Mr. Dell and Mr. Peters, two of the preachers of the Army, would willingly bear them company in the design, for they had often said to the Agitators that His Majesty was but as a dead dog."* It has been even said that Cromwell was so anxious that by some notorious act of distrust the King should make enemies, that he was himself the author of some, and promoter of others, of these letters. One in his handwriting to Colonel Whalley is, indeed, extant, which may have given rise to this suspicion. It is as follows :—

* Parl. Hist. vol. xvi. 328.

Dear Coz. Whalley,

There are rumours abroad of some intended attempt upon His Majesty's person. Therefore, I pray, have a care of your guards. If any such thing should be done it would be accounted a most horrid act.

Yours,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

But we can believe that Cromwell might really have heard of these rumours, and was sincerely alarmed by them, for he certainly did not want the King to be taken off by assassination at Hampton Court. It would have put the axe to the root of his ambition if, at this time, he had cherished any such tree of evil in his breast.

The King's escape from Hampton Court was quite another matter, and we may readily admit, if not Cromwell's complicity in the plot, his satisfaction at its successful issue. For *now* the King might be fairly put under some constraint, and kept from dangerous correspondence with the Parliament and the Scotch Commissioners. His Majesty's escape was announced to the Speaker by Cromwell in a letter, dated

“ Hampton Court, Twelve at Night,
“ 11th November, 1647.

“ His Majesty withdrew himself at nine o'clock. He was expected at supper, when the Commissioners and Colonel Whalley missed him. Upon which they entered the room, and found His Majesty had left his cloak behind him in the gallery in the private way. He passed by the back stairs and vault towards the waterside.”

Cromwell's connection and friendship with Col.

Robert Hammond, the Governor of the Isle of Wight, with whom the King ultimately took refuge, strengthens the suspicion that he was cognizant of His Majesty's intention before his flight. This suspicion is, to a certain extent, confirmed by Andrew Marvell, who, eulogizing the political craft of his patron, says:—

And Hampton shows what part
 He had of wiser art,
 Where twining subtle fears with hope
 He wove a web of such a scope,
 That Charles himself might chase
 To Carisbrook's narrow case.*

That Colonel Hammond was in the plot may be inferred from the confession which the honest, but weak, Ashburnham makes of his own complicity—“I did then, calling to mind what Colonel Hammond had said to me some few days before, that he was going down to his Government, because he found the Army was resolved to break all promises with the King, and that he would have nothing to do with such perfidious actions—I did then, unfortunately, (in regard of the success and not of the ill choice of the place,) offer to their thoughts Sir John Ogländer's house in the Isle of Wight.”

It was Ashburnham, then, who first suggested the Isle of Wight as a good place of refuge to the King, and who, trusting in the friendly, or at least honourable, feeling of Robert Hammond, promoted his escape thither.

* “Oliver's Return from Ireland.”

The King's flight is condemned by William Lilly, the famous astrologer, as a wanton neglect of his solemn advice. He had been called upon in August, 1647, by Lady Whorwood, with a message from the King, to inquire where he could hide himself, if he made his escape from Hampton Court. The astrologer "erected his figure" and ascertained that about twenty miles from London, in Essex, Charles might be safe and undiscovered. But, misguided by Ashburnham, the King took the way to the Isle of Wight, and was lost.*

Supposing Cromwell wanted the King to escape from Hampton Court, no better place of refuge than the one selected could have been found. Hammond — his friend "Robin" — was Governor of Carisbrook Castle, and would, as Cromwell thought, keep him safe, and beyond the reach of Parliament or the Scotch; and no officer in the service of the Parliament stood so well with the King as the nephew of his faithful chaplain Doctor Hammond, of whose integrity there was no doubt, and of whose sympathy there might have been some hope.

That Robert Hammond deserved his reputation of an honest and honourable man was proved by his subsequent refusal to give up the King to those whom he suspected of seeking his life, for which refusal he was suspended from his government, and Colonel Ewer, a thorough Republican, who had no such scruples, was appointed in his place.

It is curious to see by what sophistry Cromwell

* Autobiography of W. Lilly, p. 60.

endeavoured to make Hammond unfaithful to his trust. He had, it seems, written a letter to Cromwell pleading the necessity of his obedience to the Parliament, the paramount authority, rather than to the General who received his commission from the Parliament. The reply, dated Pontefract, November 25, deprecates any such notion as applicable to the present occasion:—"Authorities and powers," says Cromwell, "are the ordinance of God. *This or that* species is of human institution, and limited, each according to its constitution. I do not, therefore, think that the authorities may do *any* thing, and yet such obedience be due. All agree that there are cases in which it is lawful to resist. Indeed, dear Robin, not to multiply words, the query is whether *ours* is such a case?" Cromwell then proceeds to lay three considerations before his correspondent, the third of which contains the kernel of the nut, viz., "Whether *this army* be not a *lawful power* called by God to oppose and fight against the King upon some stated grounds, *and being in power to such ends* may not oppose the name of one name of authority for their ends *as well as any other name?* or, in other words, is not the army '*being in power*' the supreme authority?"

Hammond, not being convinced by this reasoning, was displaced, and Colonel Ewer, a thoroughgoing confederate of the Army against the Parliament, was, by Cromwell's influence with Sir Thomas Fairfax, made Governor of Carisbrook

Castle and custodier of the King, for the express purpose of keeping him within the power of the Army.

Many Royalists believed that both Sir John Berkeley and Ashburnham were in the interest of the King's enemies, and that they had been bought over to persuade the King to leave Hampton Court in order to put him into a false position, and to give his enemies a colourable pretext for ulterior proceedings.

Lady Fanshawe, referring to these events, in her memoir of her husband, says—

“This was a sad time for us all of the King's party, for by the folly—*not to give it a worse name*—of Sir John Berkeley and Mr. Ashburnham, who were drawn in by the cursed crew of the then standing army for the Parliament to persuade the King to leave Hampton Court, to which they had carried him, and to make his escape; which design failing, as the plot was laid, he was tormented, and afterwards basely murdered, as all the world knows.”*

II. The escape of the King was received by the Adjutators—who were the tools, and not the confidants, of Cromwell—with fury proportioned to their disappointment. He had escaped altogether out of their reach, and they laid the blame on their superiors, who had undertaken his safe custody. Impatient of the slow progress of the negotiations,

* P. 79.

the Committee of Adjutors had appointed what they called a *Rendezvous*—a general meeting of officers and privates—at Corkbush Field, between Hertford and Ware, “to *deliberate upon the necessity of speedy action to bring the King to terms;*” and just before the day of meeting the King had disappeared! Could there be any doubt that he had been conveyed away by the generals, or through their connivance? A leading section of these Adjutors were called *Levellers*, whose principles are expressed in their name. These enemies of all authorities and powers industriously circulated a report that it was by the contrivance of the generals that the King had escaped from them. Whether or not they intended, at the *Rendezvous*, to call their generals to account, was never distinctly known—for the object of the meeting, whatever it was, was not allowed to transpire. The meeting was anticipated by an order of Sir Thomas Fairfax, forbidding all discussions of so-called “grievances;” and such was the influence of his name in the army that only two regiments of all that assembled at Corkbush Field showed any symptoms of a mutinous spirit. They were Harrison’s Horse and Robert Lilburne’s Foot, who came upon the ground bearing in their hats the motto,

“*The People’s Freedom and the Soldiers’ Rights.*”

What they meant by these words they were not permitted to explain; for scarcely had they taken up their ground when Cromwell, accompanied by

his Staff—among whom we may be assured was the resolute Adjutant-General of the Army, *Richard Deane*—galloped into the field; called eleven of the known ringleaders out of the ranks by name, tried them on the spot by a drumhead court martial, and made the *three* who were condemned to death throw dice for their lives, to ascertain which of the three should suffer for the whole. The lot fell on a soldier named *Arnald*, who was instantly shot!

Rarely has such an act of determination been so immediately successful; the tumult was appeased without further bloodshed, and the troops marched quietly back to their quarters—a memorable instance of the ascendancy of a resolute spirit in authority over a multitude discontented but conscious of being in the wrong.

III. The Adjutators of five regiments of horse, viz., the Lord General's, Fleetwood's, Rich's, Iretton's, and Whalley's, had a few weeks before presented a paper to Sir Thomas Fairfax, intituled "*The Case of the Army;*" in which they had cast reflections upon their generals, charging them with undue favor and leniency towards the King, and demanding a treatment more in accordance with his true position as the public enemy.

Fairfax upon this called a council of officers at Putney, the result of which was the following GENERAL ORDER: * "That Commissary-General

* Rushworth, vi. 849.

Ireton, Sir Hardress Waller, *Adjutant-General Deane*, Colonel Overton, Colonel Rich, Colonel Hewson, Quartermaster-General Grosvenor; Captain Rolph, Captain Leigh, Captain Carter, Lieutenant Cowel, Master Allen, Master Lorkin, Master Welsby, Master Vaughan, Master Sexby, Master Whiting, Captain *Deane*,* Captain Clarke, and Lieutenant Scotton, should meet in Commissary-General Ireton's quarters, immediately after the rising of the council, to consider of a paper intituled "*The Case of the Army*," and to add the Vindication of the Army from the aspersions cast upon them by the Adjutors."

This Committee—a special one—was composed apparently of officers and non-commissioned officers of all ranks; for we find among them *Allen* and *Sexby*, two of the three delegates from the Council of Adjutors, deputed to lay their grievances before the House of Commons. The appointment of such a Committee guaranteed a careful consideration of "*The Case of the Army*."

There had been ever since the 26th February a Standing Committee of Officers appointed by Sir Thomas Fairfax, "to receive petitions and to consider of business relating to the Army"—consisting of Lieutenant-General Cromwell, Commissary-General Ireton, Lieutenant-General Hammond, Colonel Fleetwood, Colonel Harrison, Colonel Rich, Colonel Barkstead, Colonel *Deane*, Commissary-General Stanes, Scout-Master Watson, Quarter-

* Of Lilburne's Regiment—nephew of Adjutant-General Deane?

master-General Grosvenor, Lieutenant-Colonel Cobbe, Major Briscoe, Major Husband, The Judge-Advocate, Adjutant Evelyn, Adjutant Barry, and such other Field Officers as were in town." They were directed to meet daily at Whitehall, at 9 in the morning and at 2 in the afternoon, and *five* were to form a *quorum*.*

The *Special* Committee to whom the paper entitled "*The Case of the Army*" was referred made their report, which was such as might have been expected from men of sense and experience. The generals were exculpated from the charges unjustly made against them, and the presumptuous and refractory conduct of the Adjutators was exposed and condemned.

The Council of Generals accepted and adopted this report, which was in the main in accordance with the vote of the House of Commons previously passed upon the same paper, viz., "*That it was destructive to the privileges of Parliament, and the fundamental government of the Kingdom.*"

Nevertheless, the Parliament could not be persuaded that the generals did not share the opinions of the common soldiers, which were notoriously adverse to sending any more propositions to the King, and, at the same time, not very friendly towards the Parliament—and, indeed, they all seemed to be in difficulties, no one party having any confidence in the good intentions of any other.

* Rushworth.

IV. The seasonable appearance and energetic action of Cromwell at the "Rendezvous" put an end for the present to the incipient mutiny. But the Republican, or rather levelling, principles of the mutineers had so pervaded the army, that a few days afterwards a considerable number of officers are said to have gone to Cromwell and Ireton, and to have declared* "that if they—Cromwell and Ireton—did not make common cause with the Republican party, they would lose all their influence, and might even lose their lives!—that they (the remonstrants) had made up their minds to take their own course, for the only alternative left was a Commonwealth or destruction." Upon this Cromwell and Ireton are said to have cast in their lot with the Republicans, and to have had no more dealings with the King in the way of treaty or compromise.

How far this view of the case may go to explain the subsequent conduct of those leaders may be questioned; but there can be no doubt as to the designs of the Adjutators. They had fully resolved upon the trial of the King, as we may learn from a conversation which Sir John Berkeley had with the notorious Joyce, whom he one day overtook between Bagshot and Windsor, and whom he correctly calls "*a Great Adjutator.*" "Upon my discourse with him, I found that it had been discoursed among the Adjutators whether for their

* Pictorial Hist. of England, iii. 378.

justification the King ought not to be brought to trial.”

Berkeley was the bearer of a letter from the King to Fairfax, whom he found presiding over a council of officers. “The General looked very severely upon me, and said, ‘They were the *Parliament’s* Army, and therefore could not say anything to His Majesty’s motion of peace, but must refer these matters to them, to whom he would send His Majesty’s letters.’”

The next evening Sir John Berkeley attempted to see Cromwell privately, but received an answer that Cromwell “could not see him; but that he would serve the King as long as he could do it without his own ruin, and that it must not be expected that he would perish for the King’s sake.”*

Some such message was doubtless sent by Cromwell to Sir John Berkeley; but whether it proceeded from his fears of the Adjutors, or from his own proper motion, must remain in doubt until some hitherto undiscovered correspondence or memorandum turns up to throw a light upon the matter; and no document, except one in Cromwell’s own handwriting, will be sufficient for our conviction. The motives of men’s actions are often designedly hidden from the knowledge of their fellow men; and no man ever concealed his so skilfully as Oliver Cromwell. For, to this day, he is a mystery.

* Noble’s Life of Cromwell, i. 142.

If any reliance can be placed upon the famous "Saddle Story," told by Lord Broghill after the King's death, from Cromwell's own mouth, there would seem to have been some reason for Cromwell's apprehension of royal treachery.

This story, although well known, cannot be too frequently repeated, for, if true, it will go far to exculpate Cromwell; and, if false, every repetition of it will give one more chance of discovering its falsehood, and of justifying the charge of the Royalists—that Cromwell, without any personal ground of quarrel, but solely with the view to his own aggrandisement, compassed the death of the King.

"While we were busied in these things," said Cromwell to Lord Broghill, in answer to a leading question from the latter, "there came a letter from one of our spies, who was of the King's bed-chamber, which acquainted us that on that day our doom was decreed, and we might find it out if we could intercept a letter from the King to the Queen, wherein he declared what he would do. This letter was sealed up in the skirt of a saddle, and the bearer of it would come with the saddle on his head to the Blue Boar Inn in Holborn, for there he was to take horse and go to Dover with it. . . . We were at Windsor when we received the letter, and immediately upon the receipt of it Ireton and I resolved to take one trusty fellow with us, and with troopers' habits to go to the inn in Holborn, which accordingly we did, and set our man at the gate of the inn where the wicket only was open to let people in and out. Our man was to give us notice when a person came there with a saddle, while we, in the disguise of common troopers, called for cans of beer and continued drinking till about ten o'clock. The sentinel at the gate then gave notice that the man with the saddle was

come in. Upon this we immediately rose, and, as the man was leading out his horse saddled, we came upon him with drawn swords, and told him that we were there to search all that went out there, but as he looked like an honest man we would only search his saddle and dismiss him. Upon that we ungirt the saddle and carried it into the stable where we had been drinking, and left the horseman with our sentinel. Then ripping up one of the skirts of the saddle we there found the letter of which we had been informed, and having got it into our hands we delivered the saddle again to the man, telling him that he was an honest man, and bidding him to go about his business. The man, not knowing what we had done, went away to Dover. As soon as we had the letter we opened it, in which we found that the King had acquainted the Queen that he was courted by both factions—the Scotch Presbyterians and the Army. Which bid fairest for him should have him; but he thought he should close with the Scotch We took horse and rode to Windsor, *and we immediately from that time resolved upon his ruin.*”

The whole of this story, beginning with Lord Broghill's alleged conversation with Cromwell, was said by the Royalists to have been invented by some unscrupulous partisan to excuse the judicial murder of the King. How far this may have been the case or not we are not in a condition to decide; for there is no certain evidence at present to confirm or condemn the story—nothing to credit or discredit it.

V. While the King was a prisoner in Carisbrook Castle he is said to have made an attempt to escape by getting out between the bars of a window of his apartment, but to have failed from not being able to force his body through. The window is still shown,

in support of the story, and the astrologer Lilly * takes the credit of having furnished Lady Whorwood with some aquafortis and a file to cut the iron bars asunder. There is also a letter from Cromwell to Colonel Hammond, dated London, April 6th, 1648, which mentions such a report having reached "a considerable person" — that "The King attempted to get out of his window, and that he had a cord of silk with him, whereby to slip down, but his breast would not give him passage. A gentleman with you led him the way and slipped down. The guard had that night some quantity of wine with them. The gentleman that came out of the window was Firebrace; the time when the attempt was made was the 20th of March."

"Charles," says Firebrace, "had been told that where a man's head can go his shoulders will, but measuring the space between the bars by the *front* instead of the *side* of his head, he fell into the error which had nearly proved fatal to him, for he had the utmost difficulty in extricating himself."

This ineffectual attempt at escape, say the Royalists, so alarmed those who were interested in the King's safe custody, or safer death, that they laid a snare for his life through an officer of the garrison, *Major Rolfe*, who undertook to propose to the King a repetition of the same plan of deliverance, with better means of putting it in execution. Charles was to let himself down out of

* Autobiography of W. Lilly, p. 60.

a window by a rope, having previously made the descent practicable by filing away the bars with a file with which, as also with the rope, Rolfe had supplied him. The King, so goes the story, accepted the offer, and filed away the bars, but previously to descending looked out of the window to see if all was clear below. He saw no one in the courtyard; but immediately below the window, in the shade of the wall, he saw some soldiers crouching down, and was instantly convinced that he had been betrayed.

The alleged design was to let the King descend undisturbed, and to shoot him upon his reaching the ground as a robber or an assassin attempting to escape. The "mistake" or "accident" could be easily represented as such to the public, by whom, after a while, it would be believed.

Whatever may be the true version of this incident, it is certain that Major Rolfe was charged with attempting to take the King's life while under his custody at Carisbrook Castle. He was indicted for it at the Assizes at Winchester, but the Bill was thrown out by the Grand Jury as a calumny.*

Rolfe was a captain in Hammond's regiment, and had been one of the officers appointed on the Committee for considering the mutinous conduct of the Adjutators in bringing charges against their generals. He landed at the Isle of Wight with a reinforcement of the regiment during the King's imprisonment, and was employed by Hammond to

* Somers's Tracts, v. 153. Edited by Sir W. Scott.

guard the King, and upon Hammond's temporary absence was promoted to a majority, and appointed by him one of the three officers left in joint commission in charge of the castle. Whether or not he was the Rolfe who had married one of the daughters of Sir Richard Deane I am not able to say. But, if he was, he would by this marriage have been connected with Colonel *Richard Deane*, by whose recommendation he would easily gain the confidence of Hammond. But although a Republican, and a friend and connection of Regicides, Major Rolfe was, probably, as innocent of the crime laid to his charge as General Hammond himself, upon whose character there has never been the slightest breath of suspicion. Hammond very indignantly repudiated* the charge for both himself and Major Rolfe, and the Houses of Lords and Commons concurred in acquitting Rolfe, and voted 100*l.* to him as a compensation for his false imprisonment.†

That the name of *Rolfe* was synonymous with a friend of the Regicide appears from a curious incident in the trial of Major-General Harrison in 1660, when, having challenged several jurors, Harrison paused at the name of "*Edward Rolfe*," and remarked, "What! *Rolph* is his name? *let him be sworn!*"

VI. During the imprisonment of Charles at

* Rushworth.

† Whitelocke's Memorials, 1648, Aug. 31, Sep. 4, Sep. 9.

Carisbrook Castle several attempts were made both by the Parliament and the Scotch Commissioners to involve him in a treaty unknown to the army. It has been affirmed by partisans of the Scotch that the King did actually sign a secret undertaking to renounce Episcopacy, and to take the Solemn League and Covenant. But there is no proof that any such concession was ever made by Charles, and it is certain that, if there had been any colour for the statement, the Scotch, who raised the Royal standard after the King's execution, would have made it a strong point in favour of their relapse into loyalty.

The imprisonment of the King had one important effect, which might have been attended with benefit to his cause, had the circumstances leading to it been managed with more discretion in the first instance, and more union and vigour in the sequel. This was the general rising of the Royalists in 1648, an ill-timed and desultory effort, which wanted but little to make it as successful as it was at first formidable.

On the 9th of January 1647 $\frac{7}{8}$ "A Declaration from His Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the general council of the Army," was presented to the House of Commons, in which they declared their adhesion to Parliament in things voted concerning the King, and in what shall be further necessary for the prosecution thereof, and for settling and securing of the Parliament and Kingdom *without the King*, and *against him*, or any other that shall hereafter partake with him."

This "Declaration" proves that the generals were impressed with the conviction that the movements of the Royalists, which were now beginning to be suspicious, were not made without the knowledge and approbation of the King.

Richard Deane signed this "Declaration" as Adjutant-General of the Army, and bore no small share in the operations that followed it. He was at that time colonel of a regiment of foot, which went by his name.

To meet all possible contingencies, the council of officers at Windsor had devoted their attention to a second remodelling of the army, of which Rushworth, under the date of January 22, 1647 $\frac{7}{8}$, thus speaks: "From Windsor, the head-quarters, we hear that they have been very busy at this work, in perfecting and altering the establishment of the army, which scheme was yesterday returned to the committee of the army by *Colonel Deane*."* "More officers and fewer soldiers in proportion to the number of officers" was the scheme agreed upon "to put the martial power in the best way to appear formidable in the field."

Fourteen regiments of horse—80 in each troop, and 17 of foot—800 in each regiment, were to be the standing army.

VII. During the first three months of 1648—or (according to the computation then in use) during

* Rushworth, pt. iv. vol. ii. p. 937.

the last three months of 1647—the insurrectionary fire smouldered. It broke out, prematurely, on the 9th of April in London, when a mob of apprentices stoned a captain of the Trained Bands in Moorfields, took away his colours, and marched triumphantly to Westminster, shouting as they went, “*King Charles! King Charles!*”

They were dispersed by a troop of horse from the mews; and running back into the City, spent the night in breaking open houses for arms, &c., and so frightened the Lord Mayor that he took refuge in the Tower.

The next morning Fairfax marched into the City, and put an end to the tumult by—what the Royalist writers call—“an indiscriminate massacre of men, women, and children.” That some women and children should be generally among the victims of a street riot put down by the military, is the inevitable result of that inordinate curiosity which naturally brings women and children into crowds. But curiosity alone is not always the actuating motive: women have as strong, and sometimes stronger, political passions than men; and in this particular instance we may believe that their strongest feelings were enlisted on the side of an imprisoned and persecuted King. Many women, therefore, were in these crowds of rioting apprentices, and some probably fell under the fire of the soldiers, without any premeditated cruelty being justly chargeable upon the soldiers or their officers, whose orders were to disperse the mob—by

force if necessary, and by irresistible force if driven by the obstinacy of the mob to use it.

These tumults in the City were succeeded by insurrectionary movements in the country. A large number of persons from the counties of Surrey, Kent, and Essex presented themselves at the doors of the House of Commons with Petitions, calling for "reconciliation with the King," which being interpreted into a masked rebellion against Parliament, the Petitioners were attacked by the soldiers on guard, and driven from the House with the loss of several lives.*

The county of Berks, on the contrary, at the instigation of Henry Marten and Daniel Blagrove (both future regicides, and both of Reading), addressed a letter to the Committee of Derby House, expressive of their resolution to stand by the Parliament; and other counties followed the example, with more or less unanimity. The proceedings of London, however, were too marked not to be attended with further troubles to the ruling powers. They became a signal—an unfortunate one—for a general rising of the Royalists. Letters came pouring into the House of Commons from all parts of the kingdom, of Cavaliers in arms, and of posts surprised and seized. Pontefract Castle was suddenly attacked and taken; that of Pembroke, a strong fortress, was also captured and garrisoned by Colonel Laugharne, formerly an officer in the service of the Parliament, but now in arms for the

* Evelyn's Diary, May 4 to May 16.

King. Other officers of higher rank and greater note, such as Generals Massey and Brown, revolted at the same time, and the power of the Parliament was tried to the uttermost. Nothing but the extraordinary activity of Fairfax, who on this occasion rivalled the energy of Cromwell, and the vigour of Cromwell himself, seconded by the zeal of their major-generals, saved the Government. Had not the premature rising of the apprentices of London precipitated that of the counties, the crisis would not have been surmounted: as it was, the danger was great, and with great difficulty overcome.

The Men of Kent first occupied the attention of the Government. Assembling in large numbers they advanced boldly, but in a tumultuary manner, to Blackheath, where they were met by Fairfax, at the head of seven veteran and well-disciplined regiments, and driven back to Rochester. Goring, who commanded, rallied them there, and marched upon Canterbury, which he took without opposition. He next proceeded to Maidstone, which he seized and fortified; and, confident in the apparent strength of his position, awaited the approach of Fairfax, who, feeling that everything depended upon his exertions — that the life and death of The Cause were at issue — attacked the town with more than his wonted vigour, and carried it by storm. After a severe struggle, which was maintained by the Royalists from street to street, the Parliamentarians succeeded in driving their enemies out of the town, and occupied it. Goring, and the majority of his

officers, and many of his men, crossed the Thames into Essex by boats, which they had previously prepared in case of the necessity, and took up a second, stronger, position at Colchester, whither they were speedily pursued and besieged by Fairfax, now reinforced by Ireton.

The Royalists in Parliament were no less active than their friends in the field. On the 23rd of April, immediately after the breaking out of this insurrection, they joined the Presbyterians, and carried a motion, "That the Government of this kingdom shall continue to be with King, Lords, and Commons; and that a new treaty should be opened with His Majesty." This resolution rescinded their vote of January 3, "That they would make no more Addresses to the King, nor receive any Message from him."

"Two days before this," we are informed by Mr. Evelyn, "there had been a great uproar in the City—that the rebel army, quartering at Whitehall, would plunder the City, on which there was published a Proclamation for all to stand on their guard." This was, probably, a political *ruse*, intended to influence the votes of the House; and, if so, it answered its object.

VIII. The insurrection in South Wales threatened to be still more formidable. The whole country was against the Parliament, and every village was deserted by its inhabitants as the troops marched into it; "even the blacksmiths cut their bellows,

so that if the soldiers wanted a horse shod, forty shillings would not procure the service of a smith." *

Cromwell was sent into Wales, and took *Richard Deane* with him. The work was required to be short, and he wanted a man of energy to do it, for, to complicate matters, a Scotch army, under the Duke of Hamilton, had taken the field in great force, and declared for the King, and was preparing to invade England. It was a great point with Cromwell to put down the Welsh before he could safely venture to march against the Scotch.

Success attended the arms of the Parliament at all points. Colchester, after a short siege, surrendered at discretion to Fairfax and Ireton; and the campaign in South Wales, with the single and temporary failure at Pembroke Castle, was equally fortunate. Pembroke Castle repulsed two assaults, in each of which Colonel Deane's † regiment was engaged; and in the second lost its serjeant-major—Major Flower—who was killed in attempting an escalade. The principal cause of these failures was the ordinary one—the shortness of the ladders—a contingency against which no experience seems to warn our engineers. Many lives have been lost in first failures from this cause, which have been retrieved only by great exertions and renewed slaughter, for which, had the ladders been long enough in the first instance, there would have been

* Rushworth.

† The others were Pride's Foot, parts of Horton's and Scrope's Horse, and a troop or two of Okey's Dragoons.—Cromwelliana, p. 40.

no occasion. The *men* never fail for want of courage or endurance.

Cromwell himself directed these two assaults on Pembroke Castle, and was on the point of delivering a third, when the garrison called out for quarter, and surrendered at discretion. Their submission was precipitated by the knowledge that some heavy battering guns had been brought up by *Hugh Peters* from the *Lyon* guardship at Milford Haven, which good service was afterwards remembered to his advantage. This obstinate defence, which had well nigh frustrated the calculations of Cromwell, exasperated him to such a degree that he handed over his principal prisoners, Colonels Laugharne, Powel, and Poyer, to the tender mercies of the High Commission, which, as might have been expected, proved to be "cruel." They were tried for "high treason against the King and Parliament," and condemned to death; but were allowed, according to military custom, and Cromwell's usual practice in such cases, to draw lots for life. Colonel *Poyer* was the unfortunate one, and suffered accordingly, like a brave soldier, recovering by his death the honour which he had lost in life; for he had formerly served the Parliament, and deserted its service for that of the King, to whom his death was a sensible loss.

Cromwell justified this severity in his letter to the "Delinquents' Committee," November 20, 1648, in which he says, "If I be not mistaken the House of Commons did vote all those persons traitors that

did adhere to, or bring in, the Scots in their late invading of the kingdom under Duke Hamilton, and not without very clear justice; this being a more prodigious treason than any that had been perfected before, because the former quarrel was, that Englishmen might rule over one another, *this* to vassalize us to a foreign nation." *

The force of this argument may have been sufficient for those to whom it was addressed; but the real reason for this sudden thirst for blood was what apologists call *necessity*, and historians *policy*. The insurrection was a very formidable one; and it was highly impolitic to allow the people to believe that it might be prolonged with impunity. Those who had possession of the King's person assumed his authority to brand all opposition in arms as *high treason*. The leaders of the revolt were too able and too powerful to be allowed to live. The more desperate the resistance offered to the arms of the Parliament, the more dangerous were the enemy and the more urgent the necessity for crushing them.

The execution of Lucas and Lisle at Colchester bears much harder upon the fame of Sir Thomas Fairfax, than that of Poyer upon Cromwell's. For neither of those officers had ever served the Parliament. They had always been consistent Royalists. The deaths of these gallant men have been charged upon the vindictiveness of Ireton; but Sir Thomas Fairfax, in his letter of August 29th, 1648, to the

* Cromwell's Letters, edited by Carlyle, vol. i. p. 365.

Earl of Manchester, says that " Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle were, by advice of the council of war of the chief officers both of the county and kingdom, shot (before any assurance of quarter) for some satisfaction to military justice, and in part to avenge the innocent blood they had caused to be shed." He " hopes that the House of Lords," of whom the Earl of Manchester was Speaker, " would not find cause to think the House or their justice prejudiced."

This is all the excuse made by the Lord General for an act which posterity has not scrupled to call " a judicial murder." But, in ignorance of all the private springs of action in those unhappy times, it is equally difficult to admit or reject a plausible excuse for any act of severity. We know not to what an extent Fairfax may have been bound by the fears of the House of Commons, who were too near the scene of action not to be thoroughly frightened; and too terrified to pardon those who had alarmed them. He may have been only carrying out their secret directions when he ordered Lucas and Lisle to be shot, as when he sent up the Lords Capel and Goring and others to be tried *and condemned* by the Parliamentary High Court of Justice.

After all, it may be recorded, to the honour of the English nation, that no civil war, in any country, has been attended with so little unnecessary bloodshed as that between King Charles and his Parliament. Humanity shudders at the atroci-

ties of the civil wars of *France, Germany, Spain,* and *Italy*, but looks with reasonable allowance for the infirmities of human nature upon those of England, and with thankfulness that amidst so much unavoidable misery there should have been so much respect for the valour of a vanquished enemy. The "hereditary bondsman" is always the most savage when he has acquired his liberty, and fights to oppress his oppressors. Those who are best worthy of freedom are always the least thirsty of blood.

IX. From the campaign in Wales, Cromwell and *Richard Deane* marched rapidly into Lancashire to meet the Scotch army, which had formed a junction with the Royalist horse of Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and was advancing by forced marches upon London. The Parliamentarian Generals Lambert and Lilburne fell back gradually before them, retarding their progress by daily skirmishes, but were too weak to venture upon a general battle. At Preston Cromwell and *Deane* came up to their support, but too late to save the town, which had already fallen into the hands of the enemy. This was on the 17th of August, and each of the hostile armies was eager to fight the decisive battle upon which the fate of the Monarchy depended. For defeat at Preston would leave the Parliament with only one army—that of Fairfax in Essex; and would be the signal for the rising of all London against them.

Cromwell found himself in the presence of a powerful enemy, with greatly inferior numbers; and felt that his best, if not only, chance of success was to take the initiative, and, by attacking, conceal his numerical weakness, and at the same time encourage his own men with the idea that he would not attack if he was not the stronger.

With consummate skill he so drew up his little army as actually to outflank that of the Scots on both wings; and so manœuvred as gradually to press the wings of the enemy upon their own centre, until the whole were so crowded together that when he assailed them in his usual style—with a combined charge of horse and foot—they were unable to make any disciplined resistance, and, after a severe but confused struggle of three hours, were broken and scattered. Seldom has there been a victory more complete, or a flight more disastrous; the rout of Dunbar was an orderly retreat compared with that of Preston; and the only battle which has borne any resemblance to it was that of Pinkie. The field of battle was Ribblesdale Moor, on the east side of the town.

The main body of the Scots was pursued as far as Warrington and Uttoxeter; at the latter of which places the Duke of Hamilton was taken prisoner by a very extraordinary captor—no other than *Hugh Peters*, the chaplain of the Parliamentary army! His letter, dated August 27th, gives this explanation of his exploit:

“ I waited upon my Lord Grey, who had eight regiments

(qu. squadrons?) of horse at Uttoxeter. We entered upon them this morning, and *it was my lot to take Duke Hamilton prisoner*, who lies this night at our quarters. It is a very glorious completion of the former work, in which is a mighty appearance of God. I had a large dispute with the Duke this night. I know not, almost, whether it be not a dream.”*

The truth of this statement was not doubted, for Peters was able to show the “*George*” which the Duke surrendered to him, or which the reverend dragoon tore from the breast of its unfortunate wearer. “The large dispute which he had with the Duke” was, doubtless, an ecclesiastical discipline—a strange use or abuse of an “opportunity,” even in those times.

No small portion of the credit of these successes belongs to RICHARD DEANE, who, as brigadier-general, commanded the right wing of Cromwell’s army, having his own regiment with him brigaded with those of Colonel Pride and Lieutenant-Colonel Reade. For although this wing—with the exception of Reade’s regiment—had little share in the actual fighting before Preston, yet it was eminently useful in pressing the left wing of the enemy upon their centre, and adding to that confusion, which was the immediate cause of the defeat.

CROMWELL, in his despatch, says, “Lest we should be outwinged, I placed those two regiments, Colonel Deane’s and Colonel Pride’s, to enlarge our right wing. This was the cause they had not, *at that time*, so great a share in that action.”

* “Packet of Letters from the North.”—King’s Pamphlets.

As there was much fighting afterwards, at Wigan and Warrington, we may infer from Cromwell's exceptional phrase, "*at that time,*" that Deane's and Pride's regiments had their full share in the subsequent engagements and pursuits. The distinction acquired by RICHARD DEANE at the Battle of Preston, raised him, shortly afterwards, to the rank of Major-General.

CHAPTER XI.

RENEWED DISSENSIONS OF THE ARMY AND PARLIAMENT.

—RENEWAL OF AN ATTEMPT AT A TREATY WITH THE KING.—ITS FAILURE.—THE GREAT AND FINAL REMONSTRANCE OF THE ARMY.—THE ARMY INSIST UPON BRINGING THE KING TO TRIAL.—PRIDE'S PURGE.—OCCUPATION OF THE CITY BY GENERAL DEANE.—THE MEETING AT THE ROLLS FOR "THE SETTLEMENT OF THE KINGDOM."

I. With the Battle of Preston the campaign of 1648 ended. But another campaign was necessary for the safety of the Army, of no less moment in point of policy, and even more difficult of management, than that of the field. It was to compel the Parliament to do justice to them. This, at least, was the view taken of it by the officers; but the House of Commons, and a large majority of the citizens of London, looked upon the demand of the army for payment and rewards as a design to establish the supremacy of the military over the civil power, and to render the Presbyterian Government of the Church a chaos of spiritual anarchy.

Under these circumstances Parliament, which had trembled at the progress of the insurrection, was still more alarmed at the rapidity with which it had been put down. The Army had become masters, and it was time, they thought, to look out for themselves, or they might become slaves. The

only possible chance of retaining even a shadow of their authority was to make one more attempt at reconciliation with the King, so that KING AND PARLIAMENT might be no longer a pretence but a reality.

Accordingly, while Fairfax and Cromwell were with their respective armies, a deputation of fifteen Lords and Commons was sent (September 13) to re-open negotiations with Charles, who received their advances favourably.

It was well known that the King was ready to redress all real grievances, and even to give up some of his prerogatives; but it was also known that upon two points he was still as inflexible as ever. He would not sacrifice his seven denounced counsellors, and he would not abolish Episcopacy. The surrender of Strafford to popular clamour was a deathless worm of remorse to him; and upon the preservation of Episcopacy, he justly thought, depended the existence of the Monarchy. "*No Bishop, no King,*" was a law of nature, and, as he was not prepared to abdicate his throne, he would not give up Episcopal government in the Church.

Had circumstances permitted the Parliament to conclude this treaty, they would probably have allowed the King to have his way, to a certain extent, upon these two points. They might have consented to restore the Royal authority on the sole stipulation of removing the seven counsellors from his presence, and the bishops from the House of Lords. But the progress of the treaty was checked

by a general burst of indignation and remonstrance from the "*well-affected*," that is, the extreme Republicans. Petitions came pouring in from all quarters, calling upon the Parliament not to throw away so many mercies and miraculous deliverances by making peace with an implacable enemy, but to bring him to "*justice*" as the fomenter of the late renewal of the Civil War, and as the guilty cause of all the miseries which attended it.

The Independents of London, Westminster, and Southwark led the way, and were followed by those of the counties of Oxford, Somerset, and Leicester, in which the Nonconformist element was, and still is, very strong, especially in the first and third counties — Buckinghamshire being at that time rather less republican in ecclesiastical than political matters. Somersetshire, from its abounding in small freeholds, and uncontrolled by any great landed proprietors, was among the earliest and staunchest supporters of the Parliament against the King and Church; and the last in striking for what they called "Civil and Religious Liberty," — in the cause of the Duke of Monmouth and Presbyterianism.

The moment was critical, and the exertions of the Independents proportionate. To precipitate the desired conclusion, a great prayer meeting was held at Windsor by the officers of the army quartered there. They were engaged in prayers and exhortations, according to the Adjutant Allen, "for two whole days," and in the end "came to the clear and joint

resolution that it was their duty, if ever the Lord brought them back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to account for the blood which he had shed, and mischief which he had done, to his utmost against the Lord's cause and people."*

These sentiments were adopted by the army at large, which, at the conclusion of the campaigns in the East and North of England, were again united at St. Alban's under the Lord-General.

II. On the 16th of November a general council of officers was held at St. Alban's, at which several addresses from regiments to Sir Thomas Fairfax were read by him, and the opinion of the council taken as to further action in accordance with the demands of these addresses, when it was resolved to draw up a REMONSTRANCE of the Army to Parliament upon the subject of their treating with the King; which was accordingly done and printed,† and presented to the House November 20, 1648.

This REMONSTRANCE embodied the contents of the addresses of the regiments of Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, Wauton, Pride, and DEANE. Taken *seriatim* the addresses present a characteristic variety, corresponding to the temperament and tact of the different colonels whose regiments are supposed to be speaking; for we may fairly conclude that in every case the voice, and in most of

* "Faithful Memorial."—Somers's Tracts, vi. 499.

† By Partridge and Whittington, at the Blue Anchor in Cornhill, pp. 70.

the cases the pen, of the colonel was predominant. Looking at them in this light we find—

1. *Cromwell's*. Artfully moderate, praying—

“That some speedy and effectual course may be taken for the discovery, tryall, and due punishment of all English, Welsh, and Scottish enemies, especially those principally guilty of all the blood and treasures that have been spent in these kingdoms, and particularly all those that have abetted, contrived, and countenanced the late Rebellion, that important justice may be done upon them.”

2. *Harrison's*. Echoing Cromwell, but somewhat more emphatically—

“That speedy and effectual course may be taken for the tryall and just punishment of all English, Welsh, and Scotch convicted enemies, and *that neither birth nor place might exempt any from the hands of justice.*”

3. *Ireton's*. Still bolder and more explicit—

“That justice may be done upon THE KING, *as if he were the humblest commoner.*”

4. *Wauton's*. Sternly distinct and uncompromising—

“That THE KING, *that capital destroyer of and shedder of the blood of some hundred thousand of his good people in England and Ireland, may be brought to publick justice.*”

5 and 6. *Pride's and Deane's*. Plain, straightforward, and comprehensive, but comparatively free from that personal animosity against the King

which seems to have actuated Ireton and Wauton, near relations, and, probably, the exponents of the feelings of Oliver Cromwell. Pride's and Deane's regiments being brigaded together at Pembroke and Preston appear to have contracted a friendship in the field, which followed them into camp. Their address is a joint production, and is not confined to demanding an investigation into the King's conduct, but embraces other matters, requiring attention and redress. I give it at full length under the conviction that Richard Deane had a considerable share in drawing it up. I judge so, from the general style.

To the Right Honourable His Excellency The Lord Fairfax,
Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, raised or to be raised
by the Parliament.

The humble Petition of the Officers and Soldiers of
Colonel Pride's and Colonel Deane's Regiments,

Sheweth,

That your Petitioners, looking back and taking a serious view of those many exercises and deliverances which God hath bestowed upon this poor Nation, in making your Excellency and those under your command instruments for its deliverance, by being twice victorious over the numerous bodies that were convened in several places of the Kingdom, to the utter ruin and destruction thereof, had not God of His mighty power prevented it. And now, after all these our unwearied pains, and great hazard of our lives, we hoped to reap some freedom to ourselves and the Kingdom; but instead thereof (if not timely prevented) we fear the same miseries, if not worse, are like to return upon us again, by setting up the same usurping Power against which we have contested so long, and, as we conceive, has been the cause of all our

misery, and hath cost the Kingdom so dear to subdue. And the people of this Kingdom being also sensible of their near approaching danger and misery thereby, as appears by those many Petitions presented from London and several Counties: We also, being ear-witnesses of the People's daily and sad complaints of the heavy taxations that lye upon them by reason of *Free Quarters*, which proves so great a discouragement to the conscientious soldiers who have cheerfully undergone all other hardships. Therefore our humble desires to your Excellency are (as God has hitherto crowned you with faithfulness, and made you an eminent saviour to this poor intended-ruined Nation), that you would yet continue (which we question not) to stand by us and the just desires of the Kingdom, in presenting them to and procuring them from the Honourable House of Parliament, as followeth:—

1. That the Parliament be desired to take a review of their late Declaration and Charge against the King, as also to consider his own act in taking the guilt of bloodshed upon himself; and, accordingly, to proceed against him as an enemy to the Kingdom.
2. That strict inquiry be made after the chief fomenters, actors, and abettors of the late war, especially those who were the chief encouragers and inviters of the Scotch Army; and that exemplary justice may be accordingly executed, to the terror of evil doers and the rejoicing of all honest men.
3. That all those through whose hands the Public Treasure of the Kingdom hath run may speedily be called to give their accounts, that thereby the Kingdom may be satisfied how those vast sums of money that have been raised therein are disposed of; and that, so soon as the necessities of the Kingdom will permit, it may be eased of all necessary charge and burden.
4. That that which is so insufferable for us to take, and so intolerable for the people to bear, namely, *Free Quarters*, may be forthwith taken off, by sending some speedy supplies to the Army, and by appointing several

Assignators to every regiment of the Standing Army, without which neither We nor the People can have any assurance to be freed from the great burden.

5. That all unnecessary Officers of the Kingdom may be taken off, by which means great sums of money have been needlessly wasted; and that none of the moneys that shall hereafter be collected, may be embeseled and suffisticated (*sic*), but as it comes to the souldiers, so it may pass to the country again.
6. That no person whatever that hath been active either directly or indirectly in the late war shall be admitted to any place of trust, either military or civil, in this kingdom, who by that means may have opportunity to involve the kingdom in new troubles, and all such persons who are so employed, may be discharged from such.

These our desires we humbly offer, as being of absolute necessity to the present and future well-being of the Kingdom. And seeing that God hath hitherto made you faithful to the trust reposed in you, and there being such an opportunity once more to appear for the publick interest, you may be confident of the Providence of God, who delights in the way of justice, truth, and equity: and, for our parts, we are resolved, by God's assistance, to stand by you, and all those that join with us in our just desires.

The above "Petition" certainly advocates and presses the Trial of the King, and of those who were concerned in the late war; but is not confined to the removal of one "hindrance" only; it embraces other "grievances" and reforms which equally demand the attention of the Parliament: such as the abolition of *Free Quarters*, the rendering an account of the expenditures of the *Public Money*, the dismissal of unnecessary officers from the Civil List, who only consume the resources of the country

without making any return of services ; the *direct transmission of pay* to the soldiers, without any abatement, as hitherto, on paltry pretences, &c.

These suggestions and demands denote in their compiler a mind capable of taking a comprehensive view of the proper duties of Parliament, and the real wants of the country. The "Petitioners," unlike the majority of their co-revolutionists, do not limit their notions of redress and reform to the one idea of "bringing the King to justice," as if by that measure alone every want of the country would be satisfied. And herein the Petition of Deane's regiment reflects the sound common sense and practical character of its Colonel, as exhibited in all his other writings and correspondence.

The clauses of the Petition, strongly as they are worded, seem as void of rancour as the circumstances would allow, and bear a favourable comparison with the vindictive blood-thirstiness of some of the other Petitioners.

The Petition of Deane's Regiment is, upon the whole, creditable to the humanity of the framer, Republican though he was in principle, and so soon to become Regicide in practice.

III. The Army all this time was left by the infatuated House of Commons in arrears of pay : and the REMONSTRANCE being presented and not attended to, the camp at St. Alban's was broken up, and the troops marched for the Metropolis on the 30th of November, and occupied Westminster

on the 2nd of December, while the House was discussing the King's last Answer to their Proposals. But, simultaneously with the removal of his headquarters, Fairfax wrote a final letter to Parliament, stating that "if money be not forthwith sent to him for the Army, they must take it out of the collectors' and receivers' hands wherever they can find it." "This," says Whitelock, "was held in debate an high and unbecoming letter from the General." But, in conclusion, it was referred to "The Committee of the Army," to take such course as they should think fit for the pay of the arrears."

THE REMONSTRANCE demanded—That the King should be brought to trial: That the Sovereign, in future, should be elected by the people, and have no *veto*: That the Parliament should be annual or biennial: and That the elective franchise should be more extended, and more equally distributed. These were its principal points; but they were distasteful to the House, who evaded them by a bold Resolution, carried on the morning of December the fifth, by 140 to 105, "*That the King's Concessions to the Propositions of Parliament were sufficient grounds for settling the Peace of the Kingdom.*"

This resolution being passed, a Committee of Conciliation was appointed "to confer with Lord Fairfax and the officers of the Army for the continuance of a good correspondence and friendship between them and the Parliament."

Some of the more zealous members, either ap-

prehending violence, or being resolved to bring matters to a speedy issue, sat up all night, and at eight o'clock the next morning were surprised by a party of horse and foot, who surrounded the House and turned away all the Members that came to it not being of the Independent faction—especially those who had been most active in resisting the Remonstrance. Rich's Horse, and Pride's Foot, were the regiments employed in this work; while *Deane's* regiment was held in readiness to march into the City in case of necessity—which necessity arose, or was assumed to have arisen, two days afterwards.

Colonel Pride took up his post in the lobby of the House of Commons with a list of the Members in his hand, and Lord Gray of Groby stood by him to identify them as they arrived, and attempted to enter the House.

The following curious and authentic narrative is from an eye-witness* :—

“ Wednesday the 6th of December, 1648, before 8 in the morning, the Army sent a party of horse and foot to beset all passages and avenues to both Houses of Parliament, to fright away the Members, yet many Members of us repairing to the House were seized upon and carried prisoners by the soldiers into the Queen's Court; nothing being objected to us, nor no authority vouched for it. Colonel Birch and Master Edward Stephens were pulled out of the House of Commons as they looked out of the door. At last the Members shut up prisoners in the Queen's Court amounted to forty-one.

“ Hugh Peters came to us and avowed this as the act of

* Harl. MSS. Brit. Mus.

the General and the Lieutenant-General. So did Colonel Hewson.

“About 4 o'clock that day we were told by an officer that ‘we must be carried to Wallingford House,’ and so [were] put into coaches. But before this happened, I should have told you that the Serjeant of the House of Commons was sent from the House, with his mace, to command our attendance there, and came into the Queen’s Court to us, but the guard upon the House would not let the Serjeant come to us. At last the coaches aforesaid (to put the greater scorn upon the Parliament) carried us all to Master Duke’s alehouse in ‘Hell,’ and there thrust us in to spend the night, without any accommodation of beds, &c., only Colonel Hewson came to us, and offered it as a courtesy, that some of the eldest should be suffered to lie at home that night, engaging to render themselves the next morning by 9 o'clock at Colonel Hewson’s lodgings at Whitehall; which was refused, it not being thought we should so far own an usurped authority.

“All this was done in pursuance of the Army’s last *Remonstrance* and declaration, and is subversive of the King and his posterity, Parliament, City, and Kingdom, the utter extirpation of all laws, government, and religion, and the converting of a well regulated monarchy into a military anarchy, with a popular government of the meanest of the Commons only at the beck of the Army.

“I appeal to Heaven and earth, whether the attempt of Jermyn, Goring, &c., to bring in the Northern Army to London to overcome the Parliament, which *attempt only* was voted treason, whether the tumult of the Apprentices at the Parliament doors, so severely prosecuted against the City, were comparable to this Rebellion?

“The Members so surprised are almost all such as have lost for their constant service to Parliament, and have gotten nothing. Their names are as follows:—

Sir Robert Harlow.

Colonel Harlow.

Sir Wm. Waller.

Mr. Walker.

Mr. Hen. Pelham.

Mr. Leigh.

Sir Walter Earle. \	Sir Anthony Irby.
Sir Saml. Luke. \	Sir Thomas Soame.
Sir Richd. Onslow.	Mr. John Clotworthy. \
Sir John Merrick.	Col. Wm. Strode. \
Sir Martin Lyster.	Colonel Birch. \
Lord Wenman.	Mr. Lane.
Mr. Knightley. \	Mr. Wheeler.
Sir Gilbert Gervase.	Mr. Drake.
Mr. Crewe. \	Mr. Greene.
Mr. Edw. Stephens.	Mr. Boughton.
Sir Robert Pye.	Mr. Prynne.
Sir Benjamin Ruddiard. \	Mr. Priestley.
Mr. Francis Gerrard.	Sir Symonds D'Ewes. \
Mr. Swynfen. \	Sir Wm. Lewis.
Mr. Buller.	Mr. Vaughan.
Sir Harbottle Grimstone. \	Commissary Copley.
Mr. Buckley.	Col. Nathaniel Fiennes. \
Major-General Massey.	

“ Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes was soon set at liberty, and when he asked ‘by what power he was committed,’ it was answered,* ‘*By the power of the Sword.*’ ”

In all revolutions we may observe a remarkable retributory justice overtaking the first movers. One of the first to stir up strife between the King and Parliament was the celebrated *William Prynne*, and he was one of the first victims of the “purge” administered by Colonel Pride. On the 26th of December he published his indignant Protest against it, in which it is curious to see that he attributes all the evils of the times to the *Jesuits! Popish Priests!* and *Recusants!* who had conspired to destroy the Religion, Laws, and Liberties

* By Hugh Peters—according to the Royalist accounts—“*Yea, verily, by the power of the sword.*”

of England, "which these *unchristian, scandalous, treacherous, rebellious, tyrannical, fanatical, disloyal, bloody* present counsels and exorbitances of *this Army of Saints*, which so much pretends to piety and justice, have so deeply wounded, scandalised, and rendered detestable to all pious, carnal, and moral men of all conditions." No conversion is so effectual as that produced by the turning of tables upon the turner, and we may give full credit to Prynne for sincerity when he said, "If Charles had been a wise man he would have cut off my head with my ears."

This ejection of the Presbyterian Members from the House of Commons was called, for the sake of alliteration, I suppose, PRIDE'S PURGE. It continued to operate until the 8th of December, by which time all except fifty Members had been either turned or frightened away. The remainder formed that House of Parliament which, from all that was left of the sitting part, was called THE RUMP.

On the 8th of December Oliver Cromwell went into the House, and received the thanks of the fifty for the great service he had rendered the kingdom. He attended as a simple Member "in his place," and the "Thanks" were an extemporised piece of prudent homage to his well-known and irresistible power.

IV. On the same day Sir Thomas (now by the death of his father *Lord*) Fairfax wrote a letter to

the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London, informing them that if the arrears of the assessment due to the Army were not paid *immediately*, “ *he would send Colonel Deane to fetch it!* ”

The hint not being taken as promptly as was expected—for the name of the Colonel was a spell to conjure with—Fairfax was as good, or as bad, as his word, and in the very next day’s Journal we read—

“This day Colonel *Deane’s* and other regiments of the Army approached the City of London at Ludgate in a peaceable manner, none offering any injury to them nor they to any. When they had made good Blackfriars and Martin Ludgate Church, a party went to Weavers’ Hall and seized on a Treasury there. They found *thirty thousand pounds.*”*

This money belonged to the Committee sitting at Weavers’ Hall, who received the assessments of the City for the public use, and especially for the pay of the Army. But they had refused to give it up to the order of the “Reformed” House of Commons as conveyed through the Lord General, and the Lord General sent his representative, Colonel (now Major-General) *Deane* for it, whose name was a guarantee for prompt action.

Similar domiciliary visits were made to the Goldsmiths’ and Haberdashers’ Halls, but not with equal success, for their treasuries were not so well supplied.

These visits, rendered necessary by their own

* Pamph. in the City Library.

“contumacy,” were the only vexations to which the citizens were subjected. They had no reason to complain of General Deane for any remissness of discipline among his troops—or, at least, for any culpable lenity shown towards evil-doers, as the following instance of prompt justice, recorded by Rushworth, demonstrates:—

“Two newly listed souldiers of Colonel Deane’s regiment, Henry Matthews and Robert Rowe, were this day tried by court-martiall, and sentenced to ride the wooden horse at the Royal Exchange for an hour, at Exchange time; and on Saturday next, at the same place, to run the gantelope through Colonel Deane’s regiment. This was a piece of justice upon these two, for the example of others, who, under color of being souldiers, care not what knavery they act. Their crime was this. These, with two more who escaped, took upon them to apprehend a citizen of London, under pretence of a warrant from the Council of War, and that they had a great charge against him, when there was no such matter. But they thought by this means to get money out of him. The citizen forthwith makes some officers at Whitehall acquainted therewith, and the Council of War, disclaiming the act, send for the soldiers that made the bold attempt.”

The “riding on the wooden horse” was no trifling punishment. The offender was made to sit astride on an acute angle, with heavy weights on his feet, and was not taken off again until he had had painful experience of something like Turkish impalement.

The running of the *gantelope* (or gauntlet) * was

* Originally a Roman punishment, see Tacit.

a still severer punishment, especially if the crime for which it was inflicted was regarded by the soldiers as disgraceful to the regiment, or the victim happened to be personally obnoxious to his comrades. Gantelope—a corruption of *Gare le loup*—supposed the object to be a *wolf*, against whom every hand was to be lifted up. The regiment was drawn up in two parallel lines, and every man, armed with his leathern belt, was at liberty to strike the naked back of the “wolf” with all his might, as he ran down between the lines. The extent of his suffering would depend partly upon the sympathy or mercy of his comrades, and partly upon his own cunning of fence and rapidity of running. There might be much show of zeal and little result of execution; or a hearty ill-will might bring “the wolf” to his death’s door.

This punishment continued to be used in the English army down to the latter half of the last century, when it was abolished as cruel, and liable to be abused; and the “*cat-and-nine-tails*” substituted—a questionable improvement. The best excuse, perhaps, for abolishing the “gauntlet” is that which influenced the abolishment of the pillory—the danger, namely, of exciting popular passions beyond the control of reason. The “cat” had this argument in her favour, that her vivacity was limited by law, and regulated by science; but even the “cat” has now lost, or is about to lose, her ninth life. Quære: How long will military discipline survive the mischievous meddling of the Body,

whose complement so nearly approaches "the number of The Beast?"

General Deane himself did not remain long in the City, being called upon to sit in THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE," appointed for the trial of THE KING. But his regiment continued in occupation of the City for six months. For the "*Metropolitan Nuntio*," of June 12, 1649, tells us that,

"Colonel Deane's regiment marcht out of the City on this day. Of some of them we must needs say, that, tho' they went out mannerly, yet they left a foul stink behind them, the strength whereof made many of their hosts and hostesses say their prayers backwards for their departure, being glad to take chalk for cheese, and a short farewell for a long reckoning."

To "say the Lord's prayer backwards" used to be an approved recipe for "raising the devil." The meaning of it here may be, that the hosts and hostesses, being heartily tired of their guests, invited the devil to take away his own; and, when he had kindly done so, they were glad to let them go without payment for food and lodging, taking the *chalked-up* accounts on their boards as a sufficient remuneration for the *cheese* which they represented.

It is needless to say that this was a Royalist or Presbyterian view of the matter. The general good conduct of Deane's regiment is to be inferred from the admission that they "went out mannerly." We are informed by another observer, that they had "approached the City in a peaceable manner, none offering any injury to them, nor they to any;" and there is nothing in the records of the City to the

contrary. At the same time there may be something in *Mercurius Pragmaticus's* remark—"Suppose we had an army of saints on foot, yet, as long as they are in the flesh, we cannot be sure that they will overcome the world and the devil as they did the Cavaliers, and it is to be feared, now that they have gotten the King, and are upon the highest pinnacle of fortune, the tempter may come and show them the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them; and then the question is, whether they may not fall to dividing of it."

V. Nine days after his occupation of the City, General Deane was employed in a mysterious and confidential service by Oliver Cromwell, who took him (December 18) to a private meeting at the Rolls, to which the Lord Mayor, the Speaker Lenthall, and Sir Thomas Widdrington the keeper of the Great Seal, were also summoned, for the purpose, as Whitelocke, who acted as their secretary, tells us, of discussing the question of "*The Settlement of the Kingdom.*" "Sir Thomas Widdrington and I went to the Rolls by appointment, where Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Colonel Deane met us; and, with the Speaker, we had long discourse together about the present officers; and the time was appointed for us to meet again to confer and consider how the settlement of the Kingdom might be best effected, and to join counsels for the public good."

This remarkable meeting has not, I think, been

sufficiently noticed by the chroniclers of the Great Rebellion. It was proposed to dethrone the King, and raise the young Duke of Gloucester to the throne; but this proposal did not meet with the approbation of Cromwell. "Nothing being agreed upon, the Lieutenant-General appointed another meeting on the 21st of December," which took place, with the same result. But Whitelocke and Widdrington were, on this occasion, ordered "to draw up some of the heads of the discourse to be reconsidered by the same company."

Whitelocke and Widdrington met on the 22nd for this purpose, and remained all day at work, drawing up those heads, and "*endeavouring how to bring the Army into some fitting temper;*" but the two lawyers laboured in vain. The cause of their failure was Cromwell's dissatisfaction at the resolutions proposed, and probably carried, by the civilians in the council. It was not in accordance with *his* views of "the wants of the Kingdom," that any of the Royal family should ascend the vacant throne of Charles. What his real sentiments were, we are not informed; and it was, perhaps, because he did not express himself with sufficient clearness as to his own wishes, that the deliberations of the meeting came to no result. He, probably, thought that the "*time*" had not yet arrived for such a result as he desired, although the "*man*" was ready.

The committee, as composed, seemed to be not only such as would best suit his own purposes, but also such as could not be reasonably objected to by

the public. The Keeper of the Great Seal, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Lord Mayor of London, and the Major-General in occupation of the City, were surely qualified to advise with the Lieutenant-General of the Army, by whom the Lord General was represented, on the state of the Kingdom! Who could suggest a more suitable committee? No one whose opinion was likely to be asked.

If Cromwell attended these meetings in the expectation of being requested to take the government of the Kingdom upon himself, he had good reason, from the composition of the Council, to believe that his wishes would be gratified. Three out of the four members of it were bound to him by family as well as political ties. Sir Thomas Widdrington was his brother-in-law, Lenthall and Deane were of the Buckinghamshire and Hampden party of the first movement—what signified the opposition of the Lord Mayor of London? Such might have been Cromwell's calculations; if so, they were signally disappointed. The Lord Mayor, the Keeper of the Great Seal, and the Speaker of the House of Commons were in favour of a Parliamentary, as opposed to a Military, Government—a Constitutional Monarchy with one of Charles's sons upon the throne. But this did not suit Cromwell, who knew that under such a rule vengeance would sooner or later overtake himself; and that his own life at least would be sacrificed to the *manes* of Strafford, Laud, and others who had

perished on the scaffold, or had been shot by sentence of court martial. The only safety for himself was in the assumption of the supreme power, no matter under what title, into his own hands. Had he pressed this point there is little or no doubt that he would have carried it; but he did not press it, and so "*The Settlement of the Kingdom*" was deferred to a more favorable opportunity.

It is almost certain that Oliver Cromwell could have relied upon the support of Richard Deane in any measure involving the trial and deposition of the King. Ireton and Hugh Peters are known to have agreed with him upon this point, and the latter is even said to have advised extreme measures. *Richard Deane* may not have gone so far at that time; but we know, from the evidence of Rushworth before the House of Lords on the 22nd of January, 1661, that he was in favour of bringing the King to trial—even before the trial was determined upon by the council of officers at Windsor:—

"Mr. Rushworth was called in, and the Speaker, by direction of the House, asked him what he knew of the meeting at the Bear on the Bridgefoot, Windsor, or any other place, concerning the contrivance of the late King's death? Mr. Rushworth said that Scout-Master Watson told him that some officers of the Army at Windsor did speak about trying of the King; and they were of opinion that if the Army did desire the same of Parliament the Parliament would not deny it. That Mr. Watson did name *Colonel Deane* and *Colonel Ireton*: and further he knoweth not."*

* White Kennet, p. 209.

From this evidence it may be inferred that *Richard Deane*, whose name is first mentioned, was one of the foremost of the officers of the Army to urge on the trial of the King—as, indeed, Dr. Bates, in his *Memoirs of the Regicides*, distinctly says; and the connection of his name with that of Ireton still further corroborates the conclusion, for Ireton, we know, was very deep in the confidence of Cromwell, who was the soul of the regicidal conspiracy.

On the other hand it is possible that Rushworth, who was for some time attached to the Army as secretary to the council of war, may have contracted so many friendships with the leading officers, that, unwilling to do any injury to his old comrades, he limited his recollection to the names of those who, being dead, were no longer amenable to justice or vengeance, on account of the part they had taken against the King. Thus he satisfied his friends, and at the same time “made friends of the mammon of unrighteousness” by volunteering his evidence.

But under any view of the case we must come to the conclusion that RICHARD DEANE was one of those few officers of the Army who were admitted into the confidence of Oliver Cromwell as to the preliminary trial and ultimate disposal of the King.

VI. The evidence of *John Evelyn* respecting the condition of affairs at this date is important. His Diary of December 18 has the following entry:—

“ Since my last the soldiers have marched into the City and seized on the public treasure. They have been pretty quiet as to much action, only they extremely insinuate themselves into the town, where they pretend to live at free quarters until the arrears are duly paid. In the meantime they have garrisoned Blackfriars (which likewise they have fortified with artillery), St. Paul’s Church, (which, with London House, they have made stables for their horses, making plentiful fires with the seats,) also Barnard’s Castle, with divers other considerable places in the body and rivage of the city. By these means they are ready to govern the election of publick officers, which will of course fall out to be on St. Thomas’s day next ensuing.”

Making every allowance for Evelyn’s ready ear for any evil report against the Army, we may still fear that there is too much ground for his assertion that they turned the area of St. Paul’s Cathedral into stables for their troopers’ horses, even if they did not light fires with the woodwork of the prebendaries’ stalls—for this would be a dangerous proceeding in a place in which barrels of gunpowder were most probably stored, as they were above one hundred years afterwards in 1780 during the Gordon Riots. For no sanctity of dedication will secure any building from being applied to the exigencies of war by soldiers, even of the most Christian age and country. “ *This is none other than the House of God* ” is a noble religious principle, but is too apt to be disregarded, even when the desecrators are professedly members of the Church of England. We ought not, therefore, to be greatly surprised at the profanity of those who, rejecting all Church establishments, and all ideas of local

sanctity, hold it as an article of literal acceptation that "God dwelleth not in temples made with hands," and pay accordingly but little, if any, respect to buildings erected by devotion to the glory of God. We may abhor their fanaticism, but we cannot charge them with inconsistency when, under the pressure of war, they convert a church into a stable, which our own soldiers would not hesitate, under like circumstances, to convert into a barrack or magazine. But it may be a question, after all, whether St. Paul's, which had been lowered in public estimation by the ordinary uses to which it had been put as an exchange for merchants, a news-room, a seat of money changers, and a place of resort for trafficking Jews, and of assignation for idle courtiers and courtesans, was not already more degraded than when, for an important object, it was temporarily occupied by a regiment of horse, under the orders of the Major-General in occupation of the City.

We are told, however, a different story by White-locke, "that the foot were quartered in private houses, *and the horse in inns.*" So a part of what Evelyn heard is erroneous, and the rest, relating to the breaking up and burning of the seats, was, we may hope, exaggerated.

VII. There appears to have been, about this time, an intention on the part of the Army to propose a form of government, after the deposition of the King, upon the basis of an "*Agreement of the*

People,” by universal suffrage. That such an idea was in agitation we have the authority of Evelyn, who took much pains and incurred some risk in endeavouring to ascertain the truth of the report:—

“All the discourse is now upon the New Model called ‘*The Agreement of the People,*’ unto which every man will be summoned to subscribe. This being first to be debated by a general council of the Army, made me this day (December 18) have the curiosity to adventure amongst them. Whereupon putting myself in a suitable equipage,* I got into the council chamber, where, Ireton presiding, a large scroll containing this new device was examined, and each paragraph or title there (after a very short debate) put to the question; but with that disorder and irreverence, and palpable cozenage, as is impossible for you ever to believe unless you were an eye-witness of these transactions. Neither one thing to any did the officers of whom the council was composed agree, scarcely abstaining from using uncivil terms at what time they differed in judgment. So young, raw, and ill-spoken men (Ireton himself, in whom the world is so much mistaken, not excepted,) I never imagined would have met in council together.”

This “*Agreement of the People,*” according to Whitelocke, was drawn up by Ireton, whom he calls “a man full of inventions and industry, who had a little knowledge of law, which led him into the more errors.”

Cromwell and Deane were not at this council of officers, being on that day engaged on the general question of “*settling the Kingdom,*” at the Rolls. May not this quarrelsome and futile council have been a device of Cromwell’s and Ireton’s to draw

* Disguise.

off the attention of the officers of the Army and of the public from the meeting at the Rolls? That the meeting ended in nothing is no proof that nothing was intended.

VIII. Nine days after the presentation of the *Remonstrance* to the House of Commons the King was removed from Carisbrook to Hurst Castle, by Colonel Ewers, who had superseded Hammond in the command of the Isle of Wight, by order of Fairfax and his council of officers. Cromwell was at this time (November 27) before Pontefract, and could only have taken part in these proceedings by letter. The House of Commons attempted to stop Ewers, but their messenger was too late.

When General Hammond, upon his recall, gave up the command of Carisbrook Castle, he put it in commission under three officers, Major Rolfe, Captain Bowen, and Captain Howes. These three officers knew that they were holding the command *ad interim*, until another Governor arrived who would remove the King. This is charged by Colonel Cook against Major Rolfe particularly, who, being questioned by Cook* as to the reports, treated them as mere rumour, without any foundation in fact. Nevertheless, a few hours proved the reports to be correct; Colonel Ewers arrived, and, taking the King out of their hands, took him away by night to Hurst Castle.

The King remained at Hurst Castle a fortnight,

* See Rushworth.

and while there was attended by a Court—if we may so use or abuse a magniloquent word—of fifteen attendants appointed by the House of Commons. Two of these, Mildmay and Robinson, bore the names of two connections of Richard Deane, and may have been recommended by him. The coincidence is remarkable, for while Colonel Richard Deane is in the closest communication with Lieutenant-General Oliver Cromwell, contriving the deposition of the King, a *Mildmay*, a *Robinson*, and a *Rolfe* are in constant attendance upon, and supervision of, His Majesty. It wanted but a *Goodwin* to complete the family circle of guards over imprisoned Royalty. Was this coincidence accidental?

From Hurst Castle the unfortunate King was taken to Windsor by Colonel Harrison—at whose very name, when announced, he turned pale; for Harrison had been mentioned by rumour as his likely assassin. He reached Windsor Castle on the thirteenth of December, and was, in a few days afterwards, removed from it to his last prison—St. James's—from which he passed in seven weeks to his last resting-place—the grave.

NOTE TO CHAPTER XI.

LETTER OF LORD FAIRFAX TO THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON.

MY LORD,

I have given order to Colonel *Deane* and some others to seize the publicke treasures of the Goldsmiths, Weavers, and Haberdashers, that by the said moneys I may be enabled to pay the quarters whilst we lie hereabouts, having also ordered receipts and assurances to be given to the treasurers of the said money that they should be fully reimbursed by you and ourselves out of the other assessments of the City due to the army and out of the other assessments thereunto belonging. And indeed, although I am unwilling to take these strict courses, yet having sent so often to you for the said arrears, and desired sums of money to be advanced by you, far short of the sums due from you, yet I have been delayed and denied, to the hazard of the army, and prejudice of others in the suburbs upon whom they are quartered. Wherefore I have thought fit to seize the said treasuries, and to send some forces into the City, to quarter there, until I may be satisfied of your answer due unto the Army. And if this seems strange unto you, 'tis no less than our forces have been ordered to do by Parliament in the several counties of the kingdom, whose assessments have not been found.

And now give me leave to tell you, the counties of the kingdom have been on Free Quarters, and *that* for want of your paying the arrears equally with them. Wherefore these ways, if they dislike you, yet they are merely long of yourselves, and are as of great regret to the Army as to yourselves, we wishing not only the good and prosperity of the City, but that things may be so carried towards you as may give you no cause of jealousy. I have thought fit to let you know that if you shall take a speedy course to supply us with £40,000 forthwith, according to my former desire, and

provide speedily what is also in arrears, I shall not only cause the moneys in the treasuries not to be made use of, but leave them to be disposed of, as of right they ought, and also cause my forces to be withdrawn from being in any way troublesome or chargeable to the City. And let the world judge whether this be not just and equal dealing with you.

I rest,

Your affectionate friend,

T. FAIRFAX.

This proceeding might have been anticipated by the City, if they had remembered what had occurred fifteen months before. On the 11th of September, 1646, "After a sermon in Putney Church, the General and many great officers, inferior officers, and adjutators met in the church, and debated the '*Proposals of the Army*,' and altered some few things in them, and were full of the sermon which was preached by Mr. Peters."

Hugh Peters had probably very forcibly pointed out to them "the necessity of active measures." These "Proposals" were, "That the Parliament should give leave to the Army to seize money in the City for their pay." They were sent by the Commissioners of Parliament to the "City, at which, says Whitelocke, "the Common Council were much startled."

CHAPTER XII.

THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE KING.

I. It has been truly said that between the captivity and death of a King the space of time is short. The fears, if not the interests, of his rebellious subjects make it so. They dare not allow him to live lest he should revenge.

The trial of the King was resolved upon by the general council of officers assembled at Windsor on the 26th of November, 1648, and among those who are said to have been foremost in pressing this Resolution were Colonels Ireton and *Deane*.*

The question of the trial was brought before the House of Commons on the 28th December, and on the 6th of January it was resolved "That a HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE should be constituted for the purpose of trying the King" on a charge of "*Wilful Murder of his People in a Civil War, raised and fomented by himself, for the purpose of upholding his pretended Prerogatives against the People's Interest, Common Right, Justice, and Peace of the Nation.*"

One hundred and thirty-five Commissioners were named on this Court, of whom twenty were to form a *quorum*. But of those named fifty-five refused or neglected to take their seats, among whom was

* See Rushworth's Evidence before the House of Lords, 1660.

Algernon Sydney, who has left a curious record of his reasons and the effect of them upon Oliver Cromwell. He attended, in the Painted Chamber, with the other Commissioners on the day appointed for the first meeting, and upon the Decree for the Trial being read he rose and opposed it, "drawing his reasons from these two points—1. *The King* could not be tried by *any* Court; 2. *No man* could be (legally) tried by *this* Court;" in both of which propositions he was technically right. But Cromwell cut his arguments short—" *I tell you we will cut off his head, with the crown on it,*" to which Algernon Sydney replied, "You may take your own course. I cannot stop you, but I will keep myself clear from having any hand in this business;" and immediately left the room, and never again joined the Commissioners.*

Sir Thomas Fairfax had also been put on this Court, and went a step further, for he attended its first meeting as a Court, but did not take his seat a second time in it, for he saw at once how the proceedings were likely to terminate, and he would not countenance them by his presence. His exertions, it is well known, were directed, but in vain, to change the determination of those few but resolute men who were bent upon the King's death as the only security for their own lives.

The House of Commons endeavoured to throw the responsibility of the trial upon the Army, "but the officers," says Whitelocke, "were too

* Sydney's Letters, edited by Blencowe.

subtle" to be drawn into what would have been represented as an act of military violence, in which civilians had little or no share. They saw through the artifice, and compelled the House of Commons to take the initiative and the lead, by voting for the trial and appointing the judges. The motion was opposed by the lawyers, Whitelocke and Widdrington, and some others, and carried in the affirmative by a small majority in a House of only forty-six Members. Those who had voted for it were left to draw up the charges, for Whitelocke and Widdrington, whose duty it was to draw them up, withdrew immediately from London, and concealed themselves in the country* until the trial had commenced, when it was too late to make use of their services.

II. The narrative of the King's trial has employed many hands, more or less skilful, but the best, because the most clear and methodical, account, with which I am acquainted, is in the pamphlet published "by authority" in 1660,† and entitled—

"An Exact and most Impartial Account of the Arraignment, Trial, and Judgement (according to Law) of Twenty-nine Regicides, the Murtherers of His late Sacred Majesty."

The summary in this book of the proceedings

* See Whitelocke's Memorials.

† Imprimatur: JOHN BIRKENHEAD.

before and during the trial of the King, is so useful for impressing the facts, as they occurred, upon the memory that I make no apology for inserting it at full length. For the personal Memoir of THE REGICIDE is, in an historical point of view, but secondary to the Great Act with which his name is associated.

THE TRIAL OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

7 Dec. 1648.—The House of Commons appointed a day of humiliation. Mr. Peters, Mr. Caryl, and Mr. Marshall to perform the duty.

The several votes.	{	1. For revoking for non-addresses to the King.	} Voted "dishonourable and destructive."
		2. For a treaty to be had with him.	
		3. That his answers to the propositions were a ground for peace.	

23 Dec.—A committee appointed to consider how to proceed in a way of justice against the King and other capital offenders.

28 Dec.—An ordinance for the trial of the King was read.

1st Jan. 1648.—*Declared and adjudged* by the Commons—That by the fundamental laws it is treason, in the King of England, for the time being, to levy war against the Parliament and kingdom.

2 Jan^y.—The Lords disagreed to this vote and cast it out, and also the ordinance for the trial of the King.
Nem. con.

3 Jan^y.—The same vote was again put to the question in the House of Commons, and carried in the affirmative.

4 Jan^y.—Master *Garland* presents a new ordinance for *erecting an High Court of Justice for the trial of the King*, which was read the first, second, and third time;

assented to; and passed the same day. And ordered—*No copy to be delivered.* Same day, *Resolved*—That the people are, under God, the original of all just powers. That themselves, being chosen by and representing the people, have the supreme power in the nation. That, whatsoever is enacted or declared for law by the Commons in Parliament, hath the force of law, and the people concluded thereby, though consent of King and Peers be not had thereunto.

6 Jan.—The Commissioners for trial of the King are ordered to meet on Monday next, at two of the clock, in the Painted Chamber. The days of sitting were 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 of January, 1648.

Painted Chamber.

Monday, Jan. 8.—They chose *Ask, Dorislaus, Steel, and Cook* to be their counsel and other officers, and sent out their *precept*, under their hands and seals, for proclaiming their Court in Westminster Hall, to be held in the Painted Chamber. Which *precept* is all in Ireton's handwriting.

Tuesday, the 9th.—The Commissioners ordered that *the Proclamation* be made.

Wednesday, the 10th.—They chose *Bradshaw*, who was absent, for their President, and *Saye, pro tempore*, who gave *Garland* thanks for his pains about the business of the *Court*, and appointed their counsel to prepare and present their charge. And a committee to consider for carrying on the trial, whereof *Millington, Garland, and Marten* were three.

Friday, the 12th.—*Waller* and *Harrison* are ordered to attend the General to appoint the guards to attend the Court, and *Tichbourne* and *Roe* and others to prepare for the solemnity of the trial, and to appoint the workmen, &c. The charge to be brought in on Monday, and

Waller, Scot, Tichbourne, Harrison, and others to consider of the place of trial and report next day.

Saturday, the 13th.—Upon *Garland's* report, ordered—That the trial be where the Courts of King's Bench and Chancery sate in Westminster Hall.

Monday, the 15th.—The counsel brought in a draft of the charge, and the committee was appointed to advise thereon, and compare the evidence therewith. And they and others to consider of the manner of bringing the King to his trial.

And that day *Tichbourne* presented a petition to the Commons, in the name of the Commons of London in Common Council assembled, differing from the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. The substance was, for bringing the King to justice, which was ordered to be registered in the books of the Common Council.

Wednesday, the 17th.—The charge was recommitted to the committee.

Thursday, the 18th.—*Tichbourne* excused the absence of Mr. *Steel*, and nothing else done.

Friday, 19th.—Upon *Millington's* report of the charge, and form of words for exhibiting it, Ordered—That the Attorney, or in his absence the Solicitor, exhibit it.

Waller, Harrison, and others, to appoint thirty to wait upon the King, and twenty upon the President.

Saturday, 20th. Forenoon.—Ordered—That *Mildmay* deliver the Sword of State to *Humphreys* to bear before the President.

The Solicitor presents the charge engrossed, which, being read and signed by him, was returned to him to be exhibited; and then adjourned to Westminster Hall.

Westminster Hall. Afternoon.

Same day.—The King was brought in by *Tomlinson*, attended by *Hacker* and thirty-two partisans; and *Cook* then

exhibited the charge. And the King, not owning their authority, was remanded, and they adjourned until Monday.

Painted Chamber.

Monday 21st. Forenoon.—They approved of what their President had done on Saturday, and Resolved—That the King should not be suffered to question their jurisdiction.

Westminster Hall.

Same Day.—Afternoon.—*Cook* prayed that the King be directed to answer, and, if he refused, that the matter of the charge be taken *pro confesso*. The King, not owning their authority, was remanded.

Westminster Hall.

Tuesday, 23rd. Afternoon.—The King, not owning their authority, was remanded; and the Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber, and there Resolved—That they would examine witnesses.

Painted Chamber.

Wednesday, 24th.—Spent in examining witnesses.

Painted Chamber.

Thursday, 25th. Afternoon. — They examined more witnesses, and resolved to proceed to sentence of condemnation against the King; and that this condemnation be—for being *tyrant, traitor, murtherer, and public enemy* to the commonwealth.

And that the condemnation extend to DEATH.

And Ordered—That a sentence grounded upon these votes be prepared by *Scot, Marten, Harrison, and others*.

Painted Chamber.

Friday 26th.—The draft of the sentence reported, and agreed, and Resolved—That the King be brought the next day to Westminster Hall to receive it.

Painted Chamber.

Saturday 27th. Forenoon.—The sentence being engrossed, Resolved—That the same should be the sentence which should be read and published in Westminster Hall the same day ;

That the President should not permit the King to speak after the sentence ;

That, after the sentence, he should declare it to be the sense and judgement of the Court ; and

That the Commissioners should thereupon signify their consent by standing up.

THE COMMONS on the same day ordered the Clerk to bring in the record of that judgement to the House.

Westminster Hall.

27th. Afternoon.—The King being brought in, and not owning the authority of the Court, the sentence was read ; and upon the declaration of the President that “ *it was the judgement of the Court,*” they all stood up, and owned it. Adjourned to

The Painted Chamber : and there appointed *Waller* and others to consider of the time and place of the execution.

Monday, 29th.—Upon the report of the Committee, Resolved—That a warrant be drawn up for executing the King in the open street before Whitehall the next day, directed to *Hacker* and others, which was done accordingly.

31st.—Ordered by the Commons that the Lord Grey, out of *Haberdashers’ Hall*, do dispose of £100 for the service of the Commonwealth.*

1648-9.

Feb. 2.—The House of Commons ordered, in the first place, “ To take into consideration and debate, the House of Lords,” for settlement of the Government.

* This was, probably, the sum paid to the executioners.

Feb. 6.—The House being 73, and the question put, Whether that House would take the advice of the House of Lords in the exercise of their legislative powers?

The House was divided, and it was carried in the *negative* by 15 voices, and then it was resolved—
“That the House of Peers was useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished.” And Ordered—That an Act be brought in for that purpose.

— 7.—They declared that the office of King in this nation, and to have the power thereof in a single person, was unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people, and therefore ought to be abolished.

March, 1648-9.—Sir A. Haselrig reports from the Committee that *Charles* and *James Stuart*, sons of the late King, should die without any mercy, wheresoever they should be found.

(?) April 12, 1649.—Mr. *Saye* reported the proceedings of the High Court of Justice against the King, and therefore it was RESOLVED—

“That the persons intrusted in that great service had discharged their trust with great courage and fidelity.”

III. The part borne by Richard Deane in these proceedings was not an insignificant one.

On the 24th of January he was appointed one of the Committee to examine witnesses, previous to their appearance in Court, against the King.

On the 27th, he was one of the sixty-four in Court who stood up in approval of “*The Judgment of the Court*,” as declared by the President.

And on the fatal 29th, he was the twenty-first of the fifty-nine who signed the Death Warrant of the King, to which his signature RI. DEANE is affixed

in a firm and bold hand; and on which his seal of arms is distinctly impressed, without the least sign of that hurry or nervousness which several of the others betray—some of whose shields are actually reversed, just as Clarenceux would have reversed them after conviction for high treason!

On the same day Richard Deane was appointed one of the committee of five colonels (Harrison, Iretton, Waller, and Okey being the other four) “to consider the time and place of the Execution.”

This Committee made their Report on the same day, “That they had fixed on the open street before Whitehall”—resolved, as Harrison said at his own trial eleven years afterwards, “that the thing should not be done in a corner.”

The Report was accepted and acted upon. There was no flinching from responsibility in any member of the “High Court of Justice,” although they might have been sure that a day of retribution would come in the lifetime of many of them. For “The Commonwealth” bore within it the seeds of its own dissolution. More than half the nation were Royalists or Presbyterians, who desired a Monarchical Government, tempered by restrictive laws, for the preservation of religion and liberty; and but a small portion of the remainder had the power or even the inclination to establish a despotic Republic beyond the term of a single life.

That some of those who signed the Death Warrant of the King were actuated solely by selfish motives we may readily admit; but the excuse

which is put forth for her husband by Mrs. Hutchinson may be accepted as that which satisfied the consciences of the most honest of the Regicides: "They believed that if they did not enact justice upon the King, God would require at their hands all the blood and desolation which would ensue from their suffering him to escape; for they saw in him a disposition so bent upon the ruin of all who opposed him, and of all the righteous and just things they had contended for."

The Regicides were, doubtless, moved by a variety of impulses—some by political, some by selfish, and some by fanatical motives; and a few, probably, by strong religious convictions. Among the last I am inclined to place the subject of this Memoir, unless he may be rather reckoned as one of the family group, who, resenting the ill-treatment and exasperated at the loss of Hampden, joined themselves to his relative and avenger, Oliver Cromwell; and, being embarked with him for life or death, followed him with self-denying fidelity to the end; prepared either to conquer or fall in the only CAUSE for which, in their opinion, a freeborn Englishman ought to live or die—that of Liberty, religious and civil, national and individual. There can be no doubt that Richard Deane, whatever might have been his private motives for taking up arms, was an active agent in promoting the Trial of the King—"a forward busiebody" in the matter, as Dr. Bates calls him. If "*noscitur a sociis*" be

* Life of Col. Hutchinson, p. 337, Bohn's edition.

a rule of character and conduct, then *Richard Deane*, the Comptroller of the Ordnance, of which HUGH PETERS was the constant Chaplain: *Richard Deane*, the only officer taken by CROMWELL to the Secret Meeting at the Rolls for the express purpose of "settling the Kingdom" after the deposition of the King: *Richard Deane*, the Colonel who, in conjunction with IRETON, declared his opinion that "The King ought to be brought to trial"—must have been as deep in the regicidal Conspiracy as any member of the "High Court of Justice." The active tongue of *Hugh Peters*, the ready pen of *Henry Ireton*, and the resolute will of *Richard Deane* were among the surest instruments by which the politic head of CROMWELL worked, although his own tongue and hand and heart were second to none in the Cause for which he watched and prayed and fought.

The political principles of Richard Deane are to be sought for in his actions, rather than his words; for his words were few and irrelevant: none of his extant letters contain the slightest allusion to the King's death. They are all strictly limited to business. His enemies—or rather the enemies of his party—for personally he does not appear to have had any—speak only of his "*brutal courage*;" and his friends, who were not a few, describe in the strongest language his deep-rooted piety; but we do not find a word respecting his inclination towards a Republic—that is, a government by the people or populace. His mental characteristic, according

to his eulogists, was an abstract hatred of tyranny, the natural vice of a bad man, or of a multitude of men, in power. Pure Democracy was, in those days, an idea limited to a few whose classical minds were imbued with admiration of the imaginary excellence of the Grecian and Roman Republics—such men, for instance, as Ireton, Hutchinson, and Algernon Sydney, whose ideas of a perfect government were derived from an Utopia which never existed, except in the speculative brains of a Plato. These amiable ideologists—whose modern imitators are idiots—carry through life the sentiments of a generous and ingenuous boyhood, fascinated by the basilisk of a mythical heroism, and incapable of conceiving, because unwilling to admit, that law of necessity which provides a Philip to overthrow the abused liberties of Greece, or a Cæsar to regulate the licentiousness of republican Rome. Where every man would be master, if he could, every one in the end must be slaves to a common master; for the natural tendency of all anarchy is to despotism—sooner or later the absolute mass becomes the absolute MAN.

Richard Deane had far too little imagination and far too much common sense to be a Republican pure—“*and simple.*” He knew that the very worst kind of government by which a nation can be afflicted is that of a “House of Commons”—a polyarchy of individual nonentities—for under such ignoble despotism the nation gradually loses all stability at home and all respect abroad; it becomes

the victim of a "do nothing" or "do worse" dominion of talkers and newspapers. Faction subverting faction, party supplanting party, change laws for the mere sake of changing or purposes of party, without the slightest consideration for the true interests of the country. Richard Deane had better thoughts and higher aspirations. He had the sagacity to recognise the eternal law that a people to be really great and glorious, at home and abroad, must be governed by a single head, and he only failed in perpetuating the reign of such a man because the corruption of human nature forbids, as a general rule, a great father to be succeeded by an equally great son, or an Oliver Cromwell to repeat himself.

IV. The execution of Charles the First is a subject of inexpressible horror or irrepressible approbation to the extremes of the two great political parties, which are inadequately described as Tories and Whigs, but which would be more appropriately characterised as aristocrats and democrats. And yet, as everything in this world is continually changing, how often do we see the Tory of one age become the Whig of the next, and *vice versâ*, according to the influences of private interests or disappointments, or of envy or party exigencies! As a general rule the hot blood of youth and the necessary struggles of a younger brother have the tendency to make "*Patriots*," that is, persons whose catechism teaches them "in whatsoever state they

are, therewith to be *discontent*," while years and experience tend to qualify this "patriotism" with the leaven of common sense and Conservatism. Writers for bread are notoriously, perhaps naturally, discontented with an order of things which reserves the bread for the richer and better born, who inherit the fruits of their fathers' labours. Journalists and pamphleteers, partly through want, but more frequently through envy, are generally democrats until they have become independent of pecuniary accidents, when they rise into Whigs or Tories according to their natural inclinations or acquired associations. Much the same may be said of the rank and file of the House of Commons, who get into Parliament for "Place." They are little Wentworths in opposition and miniature Straffords in power.

One of the most striking instances of this miraculous conversion was the celebrated Dean Swift, who in early life took a very different view of the death of King Charles from that in which he regarded it when more advanced in years. The following lines were written by him, while secretary or humble friend of Sir William Temple, the enthusiastic admirer of William the Third and the "Glorious Revolution" :—

ON THE BURNING OF WHITEHALL, 1699.

But mark how Providence, with watchful care,
 Did Inigo's famed building spare.
 That theatre produced an action truly great,
 On which eternal acclamations wait.

Of Kings deposed most faithful annals tell,
 And slaughtered monarchs would a volume swell—
 Our happy chronicles can show alone
 A host of Tyrants executing one.

The author of the above is the same Jonathan Swift, who sent a friend with a letter of introduction to Pope, in which was the following passage :—

“ This cousin of mine, who is desirous to wait upon you, is named ‘ *Deane Swift*,’ because his great-grandfather, by the grandmother’s side, was Admiral Deane, who, having been one of the Regicides, had the good fortune to save his neck by dying a year or two before the Restoration.”*

The Very Reverend Dean of St. Patrick’s is here somewhat loose in his chronology, and makes no mention of the cause or manner in which the Admiral fell; but he had, perhaps, drank of the same political Lethe as his former patron Sir William Temple, who, in his Account of the Great Naval Victories of England, ignores altogether those gained over Tromp by the heroes of the Commonwealth.†

V. It has been said that Oliver Cromwell was the life and soul of the regicidal conspiracy. He was; for without him the King would never have been brought to the block. But if we give implicit credit to the Royalists, and judge by their subsequent action upon their own convictions, not Oliver Cromwell, but HUGH PETERS, was the man

* See Sir Walter Scott’s Life of Dean Swift.

† See Sir William Penn’s Life, by Granville Penn, Esq.

who first conceived the idea of bringing the King to trial—and to *death*. He is said to have first suggested it to Cromwell on his famous ride or flight with him from London to Triploe Heath, as they passed through Ware; up to which time there had been no motion in the Army of even the deposition of the King. On the contrary, in the St. Alban's remonstrance or manifesto of the Army to the House of Commons, early in 1647, there is this remarkable passage:—

“ We do clearly profess that we cannot see how there can be any peace to the Kingdom, firm or lasting, without a due consideration of provision for the rights, quiet, and immunity of His Majesty, his Royal family, and his late partisans.”

This letter was signed by twenty field officers, Cromwell, Ireton, and Deane included; of whom no less than sixteen signed the death warrant of the King two years afterwards. Something must have occurred in the meantime to change their opinions; and that, probably, was the Royalist rising in 1648. Cromwell and Hugh Peters if they had any secret kept it to themselves until that year, when the rising of the Cavaliers and defection of the Presbyterian generals from the army of the Parliament gave them cause or occasion to implicate the King in the general movement, and to represent him as the public enemy with whom there should be no truce. From this time Cromwell resolved upon his overthrow, and employed Hugh Peters as the principal preacher

to stir up the passions of the people against him—in which he was most active and successful. Hence the especial animosity of the Royalists of the Restoration against Peters; and the strange irregularity of his trial in 1660 as a “regicide,” and his conviction upon evidence which in our days would be rejected with scorn as no evidence at all, or with indignation as suborned perjury.

Previous to, and during the King’s trial, Hugh Peters was indefatigable in his exertions to inflame the minds of the people. He preached two and sometimes three times a day in St. Sepulchre’s, or some other large church, against “*Barabbas*”—as he invariably called the King in his sermons; and vehemently demanded his execution as an act of justice against a “*murderer*,” a “*tyrant*,” and a “*traitor*.” That he was gratuitously regicidal there can be no doubt, for there is no record of any injury or slight ever received by him from the King or his counsellors; and that he was fanatically so may be accounted for from his mental idiosyncrasy which proves him to have been as deeply embued with the superstitions of his age as any of his weakest contemporaries. He appears to have consulted Lilly, the astrologer, on the subject of the “*King’s Fortune*,” as discoverable from his art! While the King was in confinement in Windsor Castle, under the charge of Hugh Peters, the latter sent for Lilly, who gives the following account of the “consultation:”

“Visited Mr. Peters in Windsor Castle, and had much

conference* with him, and some private discourse *not to be divulged.*”

Again—

“About Christmas 1648, sent for to Somerset House, where Lord Grey of Groby and Mr. *Hugh Peters*, who told me to bring my Almanack for 1648 with me, which I did. They consulted over the passage, ‘*If we are not fools and knaves we shall do justice;*’ and then they whispered; and then applied what I had written of ‘justice’ to be understood of *His Majesty*, which was contrary to my intention, for *Jupiter* (January 1) became direct, and by *Libra*, signifying ‘Justice,’ I had implied justice *generally*, for all who cheated in their places, as treasurers, &c.”

As a curious corollary to these conferences we may remark that Lilly says (p. 64) “that he saw the head of the King’s staff fall off, when he raised it, during his trial, to correct Cooke, the solicitor-general, in what he was saying.” Sir Philip Warwick distinctly states his belief that “*Hugh Peters had tampered with the King’s staff*” previous to his coming into Court, so as to produce the *evil omen* of the head falling off of its own accord! May there not have been some suggestion to this effect from Lilly to Peters, when they held that “*private discourse which was not to be divulged?*”

This supposition, I admit, throws a doubt upon the loyalty of Lilly, not justified by his subsequent conduct. But we must remember that he was a “professional man,” and could not refuse to give his “opinion” when duly consulted, and with the

* Lilly’s Autobiography, p. 58.

suitable *honorarium*. The extraordinary part of the case is the mixture of credulity and knavery in both consulter and consulted — both client and counsel.

Much of the evidence brought forward against Hugh Peters at his trial, by persons who had heard his sermons eleven years before, is doubtless exaggerated, to please his judges, and some of it, probably, pure invention; but one witness, a Mr. Chase, speaks with such precision as to the very words uttered by him in the pulpit of St. Margaret's, Westminster, on 21st January, 164⁸/₉, before Cromwell and the House of Commons, and the words themselves are so remarkable, that there can hardly be a doubt of the accuracy of the report. I cite them as illustrative of the ordinary style of the preacher, and as, in a great measure, accounting for his popularity.

“He took for his text, ‘Bind your Kings in chains and your Nobles in fetters of iron.’ Beloved, said he, this is the last psalm but one, and the next psalm hath six verses, and twelve Hallelujahs—Praise ye the Lord!—and for what? Look into my text! *There* you have the reason for it—*because the Kings were bound in chains!*”

That Peters did, on every available occasion, urge the execution of the King, may be inferred from what he certainly did say, at the meeting of the Commissioners of the High Court of Justice in the Painted Chamber, January 17th, when, not being a Commissioner himself, he was neither entitled nor called upon to interfere with his advice. Mr.

Evelyn, an unimpeachable authority, has this entry in his diary :—

“January 17. To London. I *heard* the rebel Peters incite the rebel Powers, met in the Painted Chamber, *to destroy the King!*”

This was before the “Charge” had been finally corrected and engrossed, and when it was returned to the Committee for correction.

It is singular that of a man so popular and influential in his own day, so little should be known in ours. Many of us wonder at his being executed as a *Regicide*, when he not only did not sign the Death Warrant of the King, but was not even named on the Commission for his trial. And many, on the other hand, still believe that he was one of the executioners; for if not the man in the mask who cut off the King’s head, he was the other “*visard*,” who held up the head after the decapitation, and said “*This is the head of a traitor!*”

As Hugh Peters was not only one of the most prominent characters of his day, but also for a considerable time chaplain of the train of ordnance, of which RICHARD DEANE was comptroller, it may not be superfluous, in a memoir of the latter, to give a sketch of the life of the former, who was so mixed up with him in his public capacity, and had probably much influence upon his opinions and actions.

VI. HUGH PETERS was the son of a merchant of Fowey in Cornwall, and born there about the year

1599. His mother was of the family of "Treffry of Place," an old county family, still in possession, I believe, of the ancient inheritance. He was admitted of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1613; took his B.A. degree in 1616, and his M.A. in 1622. It does not appear by what Bishop he was admitted into Holy Orders, but there is no doubt of his having been regularly ordained, as he was officiating as a lecturer in St. Sepulchre's Church, London, by license of Bishop Montagu, early in the reign of Charles I. Here he made himself so conspicuous by his nonconformity that he was threatened with a prosecution, to avoid which he withdrew to Holland, where he remained five or six years as Pastor of the English Church at Amsterdam. From thence he went to New England, where he resided seven or eight years. He was sent by that colony, in 1641, to England to obtain a remission of the customs and excise duties, in which he appears to have been successful, for in 1644 an Act of Parliament was passed in favour of the New Englanders, allowing them "to have free trade" with the mother country "without paying customs."

When Hugh Peters arrived in Europe the Irish Rebellion was at its height, and he crossed the channel to offer his services as Chaplain to the English Army. They were accepted, and "in that capacity," says Whitelocke, "he led a brigade against the Rebels, and came off with honour and victory," a worthy beginning of the career of the

military chaplain who, at Naseby, is said to have ridden from rank to rank, during the heat of the battle, "with a Bible in one hand and a pistol in the other," *exhorting* the men to do their duty.

But notwithstanding the successes of the English Army in Ireland, the sufferings of the Protestants became so great that Peters solicited for and obtained permission to go abroad again to raise a subscription for their relief. He went over to Holland, where, through his former connections, he succeeded in raising no less than *thirty thousand pounds* for the sufferers,* with which he returned to England, and which he handed over to the committee of relief. These services recommended him to the Earls of Warwick and Essex, the latter of whom he accompanied into Cornwall as chaplain to the army, under the command of that esteemed but unfortunate general. Peters, by his Cornish connections, was of considerable service to the cause of the Parliament, doing as much for it as it was possible for a man to do in a county so generally devoted to the King.

Upon the surrender of Essex's army at "Foy" (Fowey), Hugh Peters's birthplace, he was set at liberty, as a "non-combatant," by the King, and proceeded at once to London, where he so ingratiated himself with Cromwell, that when THE NEW MODEL was organized, he was appointed chaplain to the artillery of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and placed under the command of the newly-appointed comp-

* Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 75.

troller, Captain Richard Deane. Thus these two men, who were destined for the rest of their joint army lives to be almost always together, began their career together, in an obscure corner of Cornwall, where each, in his own line, displayed so much judgment and capacity, that each was promoted to a position which became the first step to his future eminence.

As chaplain to the ordnance, Hugh Peters accompanied Sir Thomas Fairfax in his western campaign, and was frequently employed by him in writing his despatches. At the storming of Bridgewater he is especially noticed as having exhorted the soldiers "*tam Marte quam Mercurio.*"* The rest of his spiritual career was equally military; but it was such a common sight to see the chaplain at the head of his flock in the field, that the chronicler omits the mention of his name, it being a matter of course that wherever the musket of the soldier was levelled, the pistol and the Bible of the chaplain was at hand for his encouragement.

It is somewhat strange that when these military exploits were brought as an accusation against Peters at his trial, he vehemently denied them; especially the accusation that he was seen—at both Edgehill and Naseby—riding about the field and encouraging the soldiers to fight bravely. It is probable that he was not at Edgehill; for his name is not mentioned by Vicars, among those similarly-

* *Anglia Rediviva.*

minded chaplains, whom he commends for the very conduct charged against Peters as an unprofessional crime. But by what mental reservation or equivocation Peters could deny his participation of the battle of Naseby, I cannot imagine. Both Payne Fisher and his translator, Manley, agree in the fact that he *was* at Naseby. He was certainly chaplain of the ordnance then and there engaged. Perhaps he did not throw himself into the *mêlée*, until after Rupert had been repulsed by the musketeers of the ordnance, and only joined in the *chase* when the *battle* was over? Such equivocations often satisfy an easy conscience.

After the battle of Naseby, that part of the train with which Richard Deane was personally present, and of which Hugh Peters was chaplain, was attached to the Army under the immediate command of Cromwell, and Peters was separated from Sir Thomas Fairfax. Henceforward we find him in constant intercourse with Cromwell, whom his sagacity pointed out as "the coming man," and his ready pen was employed by his new general, as freely as by his older, in writing despatches, of which he was not unfrequently the bearer also—a sufficiently "encouraging" employment. For as he had received £100 from the House of Commons for carrying to them the news of the fall of Bridgewater, so he obtained £50 for being the bearer of the despatch detailing the surrender of Winchester Castle to Cromwell; and a grant of £300 a-year in land, to him and his heirs for ever, for his account

of the storming of Basing House, at which he was present, and for his general services in the field.

After the execution of Archbishop Laud, Hugh Peters was allowed £140 worth of books out of Lambeth Library—his regular pay as an army chaplain of the first class going on all the while; and yet, with all these acquisitions, he is said to have been always in debt—chiefly through his liberality to his less fortunate companions.*

When Oliver Cromwell, sick of the “meddling and muddling” policy of the House of Commons with the Army, created the military Parliament of ADJUTATORS, for the purpose of re-acting upon the civilian at Westminster, Hugh Peters was always at his side to hint, suggest, and aid, in everything likely to promote the interest of the Army—and especially of his patron. He went with him from the Triploe Heath encampment to London, and was in daily communication with him while he was “rising in his place” and telling “the House” how devotedly the Army were attached to them, and how unkind it was in the leaders of the Presbyterian party to “discourage” them by reductions, or by withholding their pay. And when the hour of action was about to strike, and the obnoxious “eleven,” roused to a sense of their own danger, resolved (as it was *said*) to arrest Cromwell and disband the Army, Cromwell and Hugh Peters mounted their horses, and, in their famous gallop to Triploe Heath, carried their “consternation”

* See *infra*. Poems by Manley.

into the camp; and officers and soldiers, Presbyterians and Independents—Fairfax and Cromwell, made common cause, seized the King's person, marched up to London, and in due course administered the first dose of that "Purge" to the House of Commons, which was afterwards twice repeated, and each time with greater effect upon the House, and with greater advantage to the Army. It was during this gallop to Triploe Heath that Peters is said to have suggested to Cromwell the necessity of removing the King after trial, either by deposition or death. If this fact can be proved, it will amply account for the peculiar vindictiveness of the Royalists against Peters.

Hugh Peters, in his spiritual capacity, was usually employed in attending upon the last moments of prisoners ordered for execution by the Parliament. He was on the scaffold with Sir John Hotham and his son; and was not only the spiritual visitor but also the temporal gaoler of the King, when confined in Windsor Castle, and his guard and companion to London; and finally his last (and rejected) comforter the night before his execution; on which occasion he is reported (falsely it is to be hoped) to have said, "I would have preached to the wretch, but the wretch would not hear me," or words to that effect.

Hugh Peters was a man made by the times, and for the times—equally conversant with his Bible and his sword exercise. We have noticed his exploits at Naseby—he was equally, and more use-

fully active at the siege of Pembroke Castle, when, but for his bringing two heavy guns from the *Lion* man-of-war on his own responsibility, that castle would probably have resisted the third assault of Deane's regiment, which had been already twice repulsed from the walls, and lost its major. The very sight of these guns precipitated the surrender. Again, at the subsequent battle of Preston, Hugh Peters was present, and joined Lord Grey's Horse in pursuit of the Duke of Hamilton, whom Peters surprised at Warrington and captured with his own hands!*—in allusion to which exploit, he seems to have obtained an augmentation to his coat of arms.

Cornubia gentem

Narret honorificam, monstrentque insignia scuti

Ex *Hamiltonicis* quantum decorata ruinis.†

As a preacher Hugh Peters was removed above all his brother chaplains, and much followed by the Londoners for the peculiar quaintness and familiarity of his style, and for the "unction" with which he illustrated the plainest truths. To the leaders of the Revolution he made himself acceptable by his strong and undisguised denunciations of Royalty, and his never-failing adulation of the Army.

He was often appointed to preach before the House of Commons, and especially on solemn fast days. His style, on these occasions, was coarse and forcible, and with the majority of his congregation

* See packet of letters from the North; letter from an M.P. from Warrington, Aug. 28, 1645. King's Pamphlets in B. M.

† Payne Fisher's *Irenodia Gratulatoria*.

passed for pungency and wit, and even Cromwell condescended to smile at it.*

The evidences against him at his trial in 1660 fully support the charge of his unsparing hostility to the King—provided only that the witnesses were trustworthy, which is more than would be said of them and their evidence in our days: *e.g.*—

1. Mr. *Walkeley* “saw the King brought to London from Windsor in a coach with six horses. Hugh Peters rode before the King, triumphing and marshalling the soldiers.” He said in witness’s hearing at Whitehall, “If we can but keep the army together for seven years we need not care for the King, nor all his posterity.”

2. Mr. *Porter* “saw the King brought to town, and took off his hat to His Majesty, who did the same to him, whereupon the troopers threw him into the ditch, horse and all. *It was by Hugh Peters’ orders that this was done.*”

3. *H. Simpson* “saw Mr. Peters come down the stairs of Westminster Hall, and heard him tell Colonel Stubbard to command the souldiers to cry out, ‘*Justice! Justice! against the traitor at the bar!*’ The King was at that time at the bar, and the soldiers did cry out upon the same.”

4. *Th. Richardson* “saw Mr. Peters, on the day of the trial in the Court, lift up his hands, and heard him say, ‘*This is a glorious beginning of the work.*’”

5. *Sir Jeremy Whichcote* “heard Peters say that he looked upon the High Court of Commission with great reverence, for it resembled in some measure *the trial that shall be at the end of the world by the Saints.*”

6. *Rich. Nunelly* “saw Mr. Peters on the scaffold at the time of the execution. He (Nunelly) was admitted into Whitehall by Cromwell, to whom he had come with a warrant for £40,000. He saw Peters and one Tench, a joiner of Houndsditch, together; and Peters whispered to Tench, who

* See Trial of Hugh Peters.

thereupon went out and knocked four staples into the scaffold. During the execution Nunelly saw some vizards (men in masks) on the platform, who went off into a chamber in the Hall; and about one hour afterwards (for he stayed at the door all the time) he saw Mr. Peters, in his black coat and broad hat, come out of that chamber with a person whom he recognised as the hangman; and Mr. Peters went down to the waterside, and took boat with that man and went away."

Hugh Peters solemnly denied the truth of Nunelly's statement, and declared that he was not out of his chamber that day, being sick, and brought a witness to prove it; whose evidence the judge heard, but disallowed on the ground that the witness was not on his oath, and *could not be sworn against the Crown.*

Hugh Peters was, accordingly, found guilty of high treason, and sentenced to death, and his execution took place on the 16th October. His head was fixed on London Bridge, and his four quarters on four of the city gates.

But Hugh Peters had his admirers and eulogists during life, and he was not without some good qualities. Payne Fisher, the Poet Laureat of Cromwell, celebrated him in his Latin poem called *Irenodia Gratulatoria*, written in honour of Cromwell as the principal author of the Peace of 1646 by his victories; and Thomas Manley praised him in an English poem on the same subject, entitled *Veni—Vidi—Vici*, which has long passed as an original, but was simply, and very simply, a translation of Payne Fisher. I will insert them both for comparison.

PAYNE FISHER.

Tu quoque, Petersi, quamvis vix notu' finisti
 Hactenus, et raros admisi lumine vultus,
 Occurrit tua tota *Fides*; animosaque virtus,
 Et *Labor*, æterno celebrari digna cothurno,
 Sive *Ministerii* peragis tu munera, sive
 Publica curares, quis acutæ symbola linguæ,
 Vel dextræ meliora dedit? Quis promptior intrat
 Pulpita? præmissi referens oracula cæli?
 Illorum nec more doces qui mollius aures
 Titillant, placido mulcentes corda susurro.
 Ast *Evangelii* memor, æternæq; *Salutis*
 Tu graviora mones, Verbique potentius Ense
 Transadigis, totisque aperis penetrabilia fibris.
 Nec satis hæc docuisse domi, tu limina Mundi
 Ultima vidisti, longosque advectus ad Indos,
 Fusa salutiferi sparsisti semina Verbi,
 Felix barbarico fulgens Cynosura popello.
 Nec referam quam sis titulis prognatus avitis,
 Nec quibus auctus honos gestis; Cornubia gentem
 Narret honorificam, monstrentque insignia scuti
 Ex Hamiltonicis quantum decorata ruinis.
 Ipse patrocinium Sanctis, exporrigis ægro
 Poscentique manum, mirâ pietate relucens.
 Mirandâ virtute celer, communibus aris
 Templorum Populique litans. Tu fidus Achates
 Afflictis prostras, tu despondentibus Atlas,
 Turbine qui rapido bellorum pæne ruenti
 Lapsuroque, tuos humeros objeceris Anglo.
 Te quondam *Naisby*, te *Cambro-Britannia*, *Ierne*,
*Cornubium*que tuum, seroque *Vigornia* sensit.
 Sudores crebros, immensa pericula, corda
 Nullis fracta minis, incussosque labores
 Corporis, atque Animi, referant qui castra secuti,
 Atque fidem et rectæ norunt commercia vitæ.
 Hæc toties vulgata loquor, peregrinior actis

Et tibi, Petersi, cum sim, tot vera canenti
 Parce precor : tantum hæc cecini, dignoscat ut Anglus
 Quanta Sacerdotum Vis sit ; Populique Salutem
 Non Castris semperque Ducum decumbere dextris.

VENI — VIDI — VICI.

BY TH. MANLEY.

And Peters, though thou scarce wert known before,
 Though thy report had scarcely reach'd our shore,
 Thy virtuous courage, and thy zeal compile
 Their own reward, worthy thy highest skill ;
 Whether the ministerial function you,
 Or publick civil charges look'd into ;
 Is there a man that in his place doth know
 A quicker wit, a readier hand to show ?
 Who in the pulpit is so apt and free,
 Declaring heavenly oracles, as he ?
 Nor is he least like them who credit win
 By soothing up their auditors in sin,
 But mindful of the gospel which you teach,
 And of that saving Health whereof you preach,
 You soar more near to heaven, and with the Word
 Pierce nearer to the heart than with a sword.
 Only, to preach at home contents not thee,
 The utmost limits of the world you see ;
 And to the savage Indians, where you came,
 The Gospel of Salvation you proclaim ;
 Shining a happy star to guide aright
 Those barb'rous peoples' feet into the light.
 Nor can my little leisure spare to sing
 From what most noble ancestors you spring ;
 Nor what great deeds their honor need to swell,
 Thy noble lineage let thy Cornwall tell,
 And show thy late increased coat of arms
 How beautiful from Hamiltonian harms !
 Thy wondrous zeal the godly doth befriend,
 A hand to all that want, or ask, you lend.

In thy admired virtue, quick and wise,
 Who on thy common altars sacrifice
 You to the afflicted like Achates prove,
 To them like Atlas when sad terrors move.
 The failing English in the heat of war
 Were kept upright by thy upholding care ;
Naseby, Wales, Ireland, Cornwall, Worcester too,
 Sooner or late have felt what you can do.
 Thy frequent toils, thy dangers, thy great heart
 Broke by no threatenings, let those men impart
 Who vers'd in war, and martial bloody strife,
 Know what belongs to a right ruled life.
 Thy travails, both in body and in mind,
 Let their relation be to them assigned ;
 Those common things, Peters, I solely own,
 Thyself and deeds being both to me unknown.
 Pardon, I pray, I only mention this—
 That the Priest's worth the people may confess,
 And that the people's safety doth not stand
 Fortified only by the soldiers' hand.

VII. The fifty-nine who signed the Death War-
 rant of Charles the First were—

John Bradshaw	Hen. Marten
Thos. Grey	Vinc ^t Potter
Oliver Cromwell	Will. Constable
Edward Whalley	Rich. Ingoldesbye
John Okey	Will. Cawley
John Danvers	John Barkestead
Mich. Livesey	Isaac Ewer
John Bouchier	John Dixwell
Hen. Ireton	Val. Wauton
Tho. Mauleverer	Simon Mayne
Hardress Waller	Tho. Horton
John Blackiston	Joh. Jones
John Hutchinson	Joh. Penne

Will. Graff	Gilb. Millington
Tho. Rouse	Ch. Fleetwood
Pet. Temple	Joh. Alured
Tho. Harrison	Rob. Lilburne
Joh. Hewson	Will. Say
Hen. Smyth	Anth. Stapeley
Pet. Pelham	Grey Norton
<i>Ri. Deane</i>	Tho. Challoner
Rob. Tichbourne	Tho. Wogan
Hump. Edwards	John Venn
Dan. Blgrave	Greg. Clement
Owen Rowe	Joh. Downes
Will. Purefoy	Tho. Wayte
Adrian Scrope	Tho. Scot
James Temple	John Carew —
Augustin Garland	Miles Corbet
Edm. Ludlow	

Twenty-nine of the above died before the Restoration, of whom two only, viz., *Henry Ireton* and *Richard Deane*, died in honour—the former of a fever contracted at the siege of Limerick, and under its walls; the latter on the quarter-deck of his own ship, in a battle which ended in a glorious victory—

*Ille satis vixitque super, nec gloria lethi
Nobilior nostris poterat contingere votis.*

Twenty-seven survived the Restoration, of whom six were tried for high treason and executed in 1660, viz., *Harrison*, *Scot*, *Carew*, *Clement*, *Scrope*, and *Jones*. To whom were added *Cook*, the conductor of the King's trial; *Axtell*, who commanded the guard of musketeers in the Court; *Hacker*, who commanded the whole of the troops at the execu-

tion, and *Hugh Peters*, the supposed first contriver of the King's death. These were the first victims offered to the *manes* of Charles.

It is easy to understand why Harrison and Scot were selected for capital punishment. They were the two most influential of the regicides—one in the Army, the other in the House of Commons. But private animosities may have been at work in causing the exception of the other four from pardon, and money may have been employed among the needy counsellors of Charles the Second to extricate the City men (of whom there were several among the regicides) from the utmost penalty which they had incurred.

It is worthy of remark that of the fifty-nine who signed the death warrant, *eleven*, at least, were connected with Oliver Cromwell by relationship or affinity, and that not one of these suffered! although several survived the Restoration.

Of the fugitives two were kidnapped in Holland by the English ambassador, Sir George Downing, who thought to compensate for his own subserviency to Cromwell by delivering up Colonels *Okey* and *Barkestead*, who were both tried and executed, as well as *Miles Corbet*, who, relying on the amnesty proclaimed, made no attempt to escape out of the country. He was tried and sentenced to death on the plea that he had not surrendered himself within the prescribed time.

The Royalists, who had so often fled from the dragoons of Okey, were perhaps glad to retaliate

in this manner upon their conqueror, and the City could not forget the government of the Tower by Barkestead; while Corbet, Carew, and Scrope may have fallen under the ban of the Court as degenerate aristocrats who, belonging to three of the best families in England, cast their lot among the "*canaille*."

Seven of the fifty-nine escaped abroad, of whom *Whalley*, *Goffe*, and *Dixwell* lived long and died in North America. Many knew who they were and what they had done in England, yet no one was ever tempted by any reward to betray them. One of these regicides only, through remorse or fear, lost his reason and committed suicide. The other three died in peace and obscurity.

VIII. The execution of the King took place in front of Whitehall. He came out from the middle window of the Banqueting Chamber upon the scaffold. A general groan from a large crowd, followed by a dead silence, accompanied the fall of the fatal axe. The unparalleled boldness of the act astounded the people, who but a short time before had been crying out for the King's death! The King's body and head were put together and placed in a common deal coffin, and buried at Windsor.

The Royalists and Presbyterians who disapproved of the King's execution, unable to combine because unable to agree upon the vital question of Church government, allowed the opportunity to slip away

of proving the truth of Lady Fairfax's exclamation, that "*not half the people of England*" were for the trial, much less for the deposition, and still less for the death, of Charles. The only active opponents of the regicidal Parliament were that section of the Army called *Levellers*; but their opposition was independent of the King's wrongs—they were the so-called wrongs of the people which they took up. These insane socialists thought, not that the King had been unjustly put to death, but that the Parliament had not gone far enough to secure the liberties of the people. A *King* had, indeed, been removed, but there were still *Rulers* left to curb the natural right of the people "to do whatever seemed good in their own eyes."

The notorious Colonel John Lilburne, calling himself "*Freeborn John*," was the leader of these fanatics, and put forth a pamphlet entitled "*England's New Chains Discovered*;" and, with the help of the Adjutators, now generally called *agitators*, raised such a storm of discontent that the newly-launched vessel of the State was well nigh being wrecked on the rocks of universal equality, *i.e.* universal ruin. A formidable mutiny broke out, which, but for the prompt action of the Generals, would have thrown everything into confusion.

Fairfax, notwithstanding his disapproval of the late proceedings, still considered himself (as did Blake at a later period of difficulty) the servant of his country and responsible for its safety. He put down the mutiny with a strong hand. Lilburne

was arrested and thrown into prison; and one trooper, Lockyer, who had been active in spreading discontent in the City, was tried by court martial, sentenced to death, and publicly shot in St. Paul's Churchyard. His body, being given to his friends, was buried with a sumptuous funeral. Thousands of persons, among whom were many of his old comrades, walked in the procession wearing black and sea-green ribbons in their hats, and buried him with military honours. The Government prudently allowed the excited feelings of the populace to evaporate in an uninterrupted funeral, and no harm resulted from what might have been a very troublesome affair.

Fairfax and Cromwell, warned by these events, took measures to prevent a recurrence of the evil, by procuring an order from the Parliament for the regiments most suspected of levelling principles to proceed forthwith to Ireland, viz. *Abbot's* dragoons; *Ireton's*, *Scrope's*, *Horton's*, and *Lambert's* horse; *Ewers's*, *Cooke's*, and *Deane's* foot; and three regiments of the New Levy, viz. *Cromwell's*, *Waller's*, and *Phayre's*—most of which went, but three or four, for special reasons, or upon clearing themselves of the charge of disaffection, were allowed to remain in England. Richard Deane's regiment was one of these, and justified the indulgence by doing good service in Scotland, and, eminently so, at the Battle of Worcester.

NOTE.—The King's body and head were put together into a common deal coffin and conveyed to Windsor, where

they were embalmed and privately deposited in a royal vault.

In 1813 the coffin was opened by order of the Prince Regent, and Sir Henry Hallford commanded to draw up a description of the state in which the body was found. The mark of the axe was still visible on the vertebræ of the neck, and the King's countenance still recognisable from his well-known portraits. The story of Cromwell's lifting up the lid of the coffin with Mr. *Bowtell's* sword is told by R. Symonds in his "*Historical Notes*," p. 4, (MS. in the British Museum,) and there is no reason for questioning the truth of the story.

CHAPTER XIII.

RICHARD DEANE APPOINTED ONE OF THE THREE GENERALS AT SEA.—CONDITION OF THE NAVY.—JEALOUSIES BETWEEN ENGLAND AND HOLLAND.—“THE RIGHT OF THE FLAG.”

I. The services of RICHARD DEANE were considered so great that, within a month after the death of the King, he was appointed, in conjunction with Colonels EDWARD POPHAM and ROBERT BLAKE, one of the three “Generals at Sea.”

This was the first act of the new Council of State elected by the House of Commons to carry on the Government. They met, for the first time, at Derby House, February 17th, 164 $\frac{8}{9}$, and consisted of thirty-one members, of whom eight were lords.

The Earl of Warwick, who had succeeded the Earl of Northumberland as Lord High Admiral, had, for some unexplained reason, excited the jealousy of the House of Commons, and was required to resign his commission. He resigned it February 23rd, and on the 27th of the same month was succeeded by *Popham, Blake, and Deane*, as joint commissioners and admirals, to be called “Generals at Sea.”

This commission was to be in force until March 1st, 164 $\frac{9}{10}$, and empowered the generals, “*or any two of them,*” to grant commissions, under the seal of the anchor, to their vice-admirals, rear-



big heavy face
big mouth
judicial impression

RICHARD DEANE.

From a Miniature by S. Cooper, in the possession of E. L. Swift, Esq.

admirals, and all other officers of the fleet; and to perform all the functions of the Lord High Admiral in the high seas, subject only to such regulations as they might receive from the Council of State.

These appointments were no sooner made than *Mercurius Pragmaticus* discharged one of his squibs at them. It was but a dirty feather thrown up into the air, but it sufficed to show the direction of the wind—

“ Now, my brave lads of the ocean (loyal-hearted seamen, I mean), stand to your tackling now or never. For Neptune’s sake, tack quickly about: hoyst up top sailes for young King Charles, and, no doubt, the heavens will fill your resolutions with prosperous gales! But, if you stay to take in your new-modeled Commissioners, I make no question but you know how to *Pop’em* overboard; *new-dip* Deane, and let Blake *whine*, and make shift for himself in his own proper element. And for all they egg you on with fair promises to give you fourteen pounds, and twelve pounds, and ten pounds, for every gun you take above a minion, believe them not, and hang them. For, when their own turns are served, you may whistle before you have a penny—

“ Saylor and souldiers they alwayes will adore
When they’re in greatest dangers—not before.
But, danger past, they’re both alike requited,
The seamen are forgot, the souldiers slighted.”

Against Popham, the writer seems to have had nothing but a pun to produce—and *that* but a poor one. Blake is to be sent “*whining*” to his own proper element—where there are two allusions, one to his religious character, and the other to the land service in which he was a successful colonel. But the sailors are exhorted to “*new-dip*” Deane,

inasmuch as he had been "*dipt*" before, and was not at all the better for it. From this expression we may conclude that he had been a Baptist, or what was then more properly called an *Ana-baptist*. At a later period, as I have noted in a preceding chapter, he embraced the tenets of *Michael Behm*. This is the only allusion to his religious opinions which I have found in any contemporaneous paper.

The reference to the rewards promised to the sailors is a reference to the order of the House of Commons, Feb. 23, 164⁹. "That for every gun taken in the admiral or vice-admiral of the ships revolted to Prince Charles, the master and mariners should have £14; and for every gun of the rear-admiral £12; and for every gun of any other ship £10 . . . provided it was above a minion."

II. The naval service of the European powers of the seventeenth century was formed on the model of those of Greece and Rome, in which generals on land became "Generals at Sea," whenever they were required to repel an enemy who attacked them from the sea. Navigators, in the days of Miltiades and Cæsar, and long after them, "hugged the shore," and many landsmen were as much at home on shipboard as the sailors themselves. Every soldier was on occasion a marine, and every sailor, when required to act on shore, a soldier. It was the same in all European countries down to the seventeenth century. The new-born Republic of

* Weekly Intelligencer, Feb. 24.

Holland was the first to elevate the naval into a distinct service, in which admirals learned the rudiments of their profession as cabin boys, or as "men before the mast," and in which none but regularly-bred sailors ever rose to commands.

It was fortunate for England that at this time, when the slightest breath of commercial jealousy was likely to drive her navy into collision with that of Holland, her single ships were rarely, if ever, entrusted to the command of landsmen, whatever might have been the practice with respect to fleets. The system inaugurated by the Frobishers, Drakes, Hawkinses, and Gilberts had commended itself by its success to the Government; and all that Court interest could, generally speaking, effect, was to retain the supreme command of the fleet or squadron in the hands of Court favourites, such as the Earl of Leicester and others of the nobility, who were as a class the hereditary High Admirals of England. The family of Percy seems to have had almost a prescriptive claim to this high office.

The Parliament of 164 $\frac{8}{9}$ destroyed this exclusive privilege of nobility, but adhered to the principle of nomination. Three distinguished colonels of the Army were selected to perform the duties of the Lord High-Admiral, with co-ordinate rank and powers. But the experiment was a risk, for great as is the glory of the Navy of England now, it was but small, or nothing, in the reign of Charles the First. A new power had arisen within a few hours' sail of the mouth of the Thames, which in a few

years commanded the commerce of the ocean, and had the best fleets, the best sailors, and the best admirals in the world.

The Republic of Holland “vexed the seas with her fisheries,” and threatened the shores of England with her marine artillery. The only nation supposed to be able to cope with her was Spain; and the last Armada of Spain had been lately shattered by the Dutch Admiral *Herbert Martin Tromp*, within sight and almost within gun-shot of the coast of Kent. Holland was supreme on her own element after this victory; and the fame of England had receded since the defeat of the Great Armada.

The causes of this decadence, under James the First, are not difficult of discovery. A manuscript dated 1635 is in the Harleian Collection, B. M. No. 3232, which spoke the truth too plainly to be allowed to see the light of day in its own times, but is now both accessible and instructive. The writer, who seems to have been an Admiralty clerk, of unofficial candour, tells us that “an Officer, a Master, a Boatswain, a Clerk of the Cheque, &c., whose ship was in harbour, had a house and garden on shore, in which they employed as gardeners, grooms, &c., men who were *rated as seamen* on board their ships, in which they seldom appeared except on pay-day—many of them only once a month, at muster.” And that “such was the countenance of these men, that a Clerk of the Cheque, or Master, or Boatswain, &c., may better take a wolf by the ears than find fault with them. . . .

Hence there is almost no man in the Navy that hath not some of the King's, or his own, servants borne on the King's charge, to attend his private person, house, garden, or horse!" If such were the ordinary peculation, indiscipline, and abuses in harbour, where many eyes were upon them, what must have been the condition of things on board ship and at sea, under the command of landsmen, whose only title to command was the sword which they wore as noblemen or gentlemen, and who, with rare exceptions, could hardly have known the ordinary duties of a seaman? No wonder the Royal Navy had become what it was in 1635, and Holland obtained the sovereignty of the seas.

At the accession of Charles the First, a Royal squadron could hardly put to sea without a considerable portion of it being composed of hired merchantmen. These were, generally, quite as well manned and armed as the King's ships; for the narrow seas were infested with pirates from the coast of Barbary, and piratical Europeans, who put on the turban of Mahomedans, and sailed under the flags of Sallee or Algiers, Tunis or Tripoli. The trade of piracy was so profitable, that many Englishmen, and some of them of good families, could not resist the temptation of embarking in it, and soon became indifferent as to the nation or religion of the crews whom they captured, and sold into African slavery. "*Nulli melius piraticam artem excercent quam Angli,*" says Scaliger; and he is borne out by the exploits of *Morgan, Ward, Bishop,*

Sir Francis Verney, and *Glanville*, who turned Rovers, and the last four of whom lived as Turks at Tunis, adopting their faith for the sake of their privileges. Piratical crews, said to be "Algerines," frequently landed on the English and French coasts, plundered villages, and carried off their inhabitants. In 1632, and again in 1645, these "Turks"* landed in Cornwall, and sailed away with twenty-six children. Well, then, might the merchants of London, Bristol, and other ports arm their ships and put them under the command of good and experienced captains.

Whether from this circumstance, upon which he may have placed undue reliance, or from indifference to disgrace, or from parsimony, James the First left a very small navy behind him; and the endeavour of Charles to increase their number and efficiency by the tax of ship money was, as we know, the moving cause or pretext of the Great Rebellion.

Such was the condition of the Navy in 1649 when POPHAM, BLAKE, and DEANE hoisted their flags as GENERALS AT SEA.

Evelyn, in his Diary, under the date of March 22, 164⁸/₉, remarks—"Our navy here advanceth not with that speed as is desired, the seamen being very much unsatisfied to admit landmen to force them." By the middle of April this backwardness had been quickened. "Contrary to all expectation a fleet is at length patched up, consisting of thirty

* Diary of Walter Yonge, p. 103.

sail, yet mixed vessels, which are now under sail, ready to visit the Irish Coasts If these be not broken, good men (*i.e.* ROYALISTS) here will much despair: but if reduced, believe me, the hook is in their nostrils."

This remark of Evelyn, who was well acquainted with the state of affairs, both at home and abroad, shows how important it was to the Parliament to have good fleets at sea, and good generals to command them. The selection of Popham, Blake, and Deane is, therefore, one of the strongest proofs of the generally-allowed superior merits of these officers. Popham did not live long enough to justify the good opinion of the Council of State, and even Deane died too soon for his country, but not before he had proved his claims to her gratitude. Blake however survived to be "*the Fortress of England,*" as he was popularly called, and to leave a name behind him which, to this day, is second only to that of HORATIO NELSON.

The low ebb to which the naval reputation of England had sunk at the beginning of Charles's reign may be estimated from a letter written from Plymouth, Oct. 30, 1630, by Sir James Bagg to the Lords of the Admiralty, detailing an instance of Dutch arrogance, and contempt of the rights of nations. On the 21st six Dutch men-of-war, coming east of Plymouth, opposite Arme (the river Erme), a small pool within three leagues of Plymouth, espied a Dunkirker at anchor. The Dunkirker seeing the Dutch put into Arme, where Mr. Pol-

*lexfen** went a-board and seized her in the King's name. After the ship had been driven hours a-ground on the flood, the Dutch sent in three boats, turned ashore the English, and put to sea with the *Dunkirker*." Sir James Bagg wishes to know what satisfaction should be demanded for this outrage. There is, as far as I can discover, no evidence in the State Paper Office, where this letter may be seen, of any satisfaction having been either asked or given.

III. When the three Generals at Sea were appointed, England and Holland were at peace. Each was inclined to look upon the sister Republic with consideration. The rivalry of their marine, and the jealousy of their merchants, had not yet infected the whole body of the nation. The English had sympathised with the Hollanders in their struggles for independence, and had afforded them material assistance; and the Hollanders, in return, looked upon the beginning of the English civil war as an effort of "hereditary bondsmen to be free;" and upon the cause of the Parliament as the cause of the people. But when the people's rights had been secured, and Parliament began to revive the prerogatives of royalty in their own persons, and, with the extension of their power on land, restored all the ancient and invidious claims of their flag at sea, the case was altered, and from approving

* John Pollexfen, Esq. of Mottescombe, a county magistrate, uncle to Sir Henry Pollexfen, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas temp. Will. III.

friends the people of Holland became jealous and hostile neighbours.

It had been an immemorial claim of the Kings of England, traced by learned and imaginative antiquaries to the Saxon Edgar, that every foreign vessel which met an English man-of-war in the Channel should strike its flag and lower its topsail, as an acknowledgment that they only sailed upon its waters by permission of England, and that they had no natural rights of their own to the privilege. This claim had been generally allowed by the European nations who were too weak at sea to resist it. English Kings had from time to time enforced it, and the Parliament, succeeding, as they maintained, to all the rights of the King, instructed their Generals to insist upon it.

The Dutch resented this indignity as a national insult, and commercial jealousy added its stimulus to national pride. Their united influence assumed the generous form of protection to the persecuted. The ports and purses of Holland were opened to the fugitive Royal Family of England, and their adherents; and common interests cemented the family alliance of the Statholder and the House of Stuart.

Other causes were not wanting to make the threatened war popular in both countries. There were grievances to be redressed by each, for which neither was willing to make reparation. The massacre of Amboyna had never been forgotten by the English, and the interference of the English cruisers with the herring fishery was resented by

the Dutch as a tyrannical invasion of the liberty of the seas.

When the minds of men are in this inflammable state, the smallest spark is sufficient to produce a general conflagration. The old vexed question of "the flag" loaded the first gun, whose report was repeated for many a year along the shores of two countries which, from their proximity, religion, domestic habits, language, modes of thought, and commercial pursuits, were intended to be friends and brethren; and not like the English and French natural and hereditary antagonists, whose honest antipathies no political experiences can destroy, and whose antagonism is a dispensation of Providence for the benefit of the human race. For had it not been for the rivalry of these two great nations the civilization of Europe might have become stagnant, and the progress of the world's mind arrested.

IV. In 1647 the Earl of Warwick was Lord High Admiral, and Colonel Rainsborough Vice-Admiral. The sailors of Rainsborough's squadron, disgusted with his tyrannical conduct, revolted, and, putting him ashore, sailed away with eleven ships and joined Prince Charles at Helvoetsluys. The Prince thus reinforced crossed over with his fleet to the Downs and threatened the Earl of Warwick, who was guarding the mouths of the Thames; but Warwick, who was as popular with the sailors as Rainsborough had been disliked, contrived to effect a communication between the two fleets, and

openly, by his appeals to their patriotism, and privately by his intrigues and promises, prevailed with several of the Prince's crews to return to their duties, which left the Prince so weak and in such danger that he returned hastily with the remainder of his ships to Holland, where they were laid up in harbour, waiting patiently for those better times which did not appear for twelve years. It is highly to the credit of those crews that few or none joined the Dutch in their subsequent war with England.

When Popham, Blake, and Deane took the command of the fleet it was divided into two divisions of unequal strength, under the names of *Winter* and *Summer Guard*, the former consisting of thirty-one ships of all rates, the latter of thirty-eight. The complement of men for the Summer Guard was considerably greater than for the Winter Guard, which was generally kept in harbour. The number of men in each ship was small compared with the number of guns—first-rates carrying only 385 or 400 men. But these, upon declaration of war, were greatly increased.

In July, 1649, the three Generals at Sea were thus stationed—Blake was appointed to the blockade of Kinsale, Popham guarded the coast between the Downs and Portsmouth, and Deane between Portsmouth and Milford Haven.

The first act* of General Deane was, in conjunction with Popham, to recommend Sir George Ayscue for the command in the Irish Channel. His next †

* March 2.

† April 14.

was joining Blake in a letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons detailing the difficulties which obstructed them in the performance of their duties, and requesting the removal of them. This letter is first signed by *Deane*, from which I infer that it was dictated by him to the secretary of the generals. It is one among several similar specimens of that sound common sense which characterizes all the letters to which his name is subscribed. The original is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

MR. SPEAKER,

The ship *Triumph*, appointed for us to go to sea in, being almost ready, we intend to repair on board of her on Monday or Tuesday next, endeavouring, as much as in us lies, to lose no time whereby your services may suffer. But we find one or two very great obstructions, wherein the mariners seem to be much unsatisfied. This Honourable House was pleased to pass an Act for the better encouragement of mariners to the service, where, in one clause, it is expressed that all ships that are going to the rebels in Ireland with corn, ammunition, or contraband goods, shall be taken and made prize; which seemeth to imply that all ships that carry not corn, ammunition, or contraband goods, are free to trade with the rebels in Ireland. And yet in our instructions we are commanded not to suffer any to trade with Ireland, but to take all vessels either going thither or returning back. And there hath been some other Acts and ordinances passed to this purpose formerly; but by reason of the last Act, and that there hath been no prohibition from trading in the province of Munster since the Lord Inchiquin's revolt openly published, but that merchants and others have avowedly entered goods for those ports in the custom house at Bristol, and other places in the western parts of England, by all which means the judges of the Admiralty are not clear how to proceed in matter of judge-

ment concerning these vessels, there being now, of foreigners and natives, twelve vessels of this capacity which are not adjudged. Many of the mariners that are now to go with us, that have taken these vessels, are very much discontented, and tell us that we promised them encouragement, and *that* without delay; but that they are afraid their delays will be worse than formerly, if there be not a sudden declaration how the judges may proceed, and what we may lawfully take. There is an Act drawn up, and in Sir Henry Vane's hands, we think, that was presented to the Council (of State) yesterday, which we humbly desire may be taken into consideration, and what the Honourable House shall think fit may be speedily done therein.

There is another great obstruction in our way, arising from want of commissioners authorised for the sale of prize goods, reported by Colonel Wauton, which we earnestly desire may be passed, because there are many perishable prize goods to be sold, which cannot be done for want of commissioners to sell them; the former commissioners neglecting wholly the business, and the collectors of prize goods telling us that they cannot get so many of them together to make any sale. These two obstructions are a great discouragement to the mariners, who daily complain to us about them; and, indeed, whereas there was a promise of encouragement in the last Act, entituled "An Act for the encouragement of Seamen and impressing of Mariners," if both these inconveniences be not provided for, we fear this encouragement will be very small; and they, seeing such obstructions in the way, before our going out, will hardly be persuaded, hereafter, that they shall have any such benefit of prizes as is pretended. All which we leave to your Honours' consideration, being persuaded that if the above-mentioned inconveniences be not remedied before our being on board, we shall hardly keep that good opinion among the mariners which we hope we have, in some measure, obtained, nor be so well able to do you that service we heartily desire.

Thus, in the hope of your Honours' favour, and the speedy removal of these obstructions,

We remain,

Your Honours' humble Servants,

RI. DEANE.

ROBT. BLAKE.

The difficulties complained of by the Generals were immediately removed by an Act passed April 17th, that is, within three days after the writing of the above letter,—an example of promptitude well worthy of notice and imitation.

The Parliament was, in other respects also, equally considerate. It did not discourage its servants by niggardly payments. The three Generals at Sea had *three pounds* a-day each—the same as the Treasurer of the Navy. What are the relative proportions now?

CHAPTER XIV.

SERVICES OF GENERAL DEANE ON THE IRISH COAST.—HIS ILLNESS.—LETTERS.—ESCAPE OF PRINCES RUPERT AND MAURICE FROM KINSALE.—THE GENERAL'S COMPLAINT OF THE NEGLIGENCE OF THE CIVIL OFFICIALS OF THE NAVY.

I. Shortly after their appointments, the Generals, Blake and Deane, sailed from the Downs in pursuit of Prince Rupert, who had come out of the Dutch ports with a small squadron, and caused some alarm along the southern coasts of England. The Generals were too late to intercept him; but prevented him, by their pursuit, from landing either men or materials of war in England, and compelled him to take refuge in Kinsale, where they blockaded him.

This service, measured rather by the fears than the reason of the House of Commons, was deemed of sufficient importance to receive the thanks of the House, which were unanimously voted on the 5th of June, 1649, to which the Generals sent the following reply:—

Mr. SPEAKER,

The honour which the honourable House has been pleased to put upon our honest endeavours, signified by yours of the 5th instant, we received with all humble acknowledgments, desiring, for ourselves, that the fruit of it may be to render us more able and prosperous in their service, by making us more lowly in the sight of God. And as we have learnt from our Great Master, when we have done all we can, to confess our-

selves unprofitable servants to God, so, for all the good He hath or shall be pleased to do for us, his unworthy instruments, it shall be sufficient unto us to be accounted but faithful servants of men, for the Lord's sake. Of this honour we shall ever be ambitious; but shall desire, next unto God, to owe it rather to the prayers than to the thanks of men, as having more need of the one than right unto the other.

Being thus resolved, however it hath or shall please God to exercise us with varieties of Providence, we shall not doubt, through his blessing, of good success and a happy conclusion in the end.

We have now been thirteen days absent from Kinsale, from whence we were forced by extremity of weather, and driven hither, where we are with eight ships, viz. *Triumph, Charles, Leopard, Lion, Garland, Hercules, John, and Elizabeth*. We shall, God willing, with the first opportunity, endeavour to get to Kinsale Bay again, and pursue our former resolutions, if we find them (the enemy) there; or, otherwise, to follow them whithersoever they shall go. In the meantime we have dispatched away directions to Vice-Admiral Moulton, and others, ordering them to keep themselves in the strongest posture they may, to defend themselves and oppose the enemy in case he should be gone out, or recover the channel. We shall neglect no opportunity of doing our duty, and discharging that great trust which the Parliament hath pleased to repose in us, which may make it appear how much we are,

Your most faithful and humble Servants,

ROBT. BLAKE.

RIC. DEANE.

On board the *Triumph*,

Milford Haven, June 13, 1649.

This letter, so different in style from the preceding, bears marks of the mind of Blake, and was probably of his inditing. The style of Deane is much less smooth and ornate. His practical nature could not express itself in any but plain and simple

words, and did not indulge in sentimental or spiritual effusions for the sake of rounding a period or pleasing a "Professor." On the contrary, his efforts were laboured and awkward whenever he found it necessary, from the character of his correspondent, to deviate into religiousness. Blake, an equally honest man, was by constitution more piously affected, and naturally fell more into the manners of the times. And the well-expressed humility and trust in Providence with which the letter opens were, doubtless, his genuine feelings, and belonged to that character which the Royalist Gallio ridicules by the phrase "*whining*"—that is, humbly religious.

Richard Deane might, perhaps, have been the better, as a man, for somewhat more of Robert Blake's religious temperament. But we have no right to consider him as irreligious because he was, constitutionally, reluctant in giving expression to his feelings. We have the authority, such as it is, of his eulogists, that he was a man of singular purity of mind and morals; and the periodical literature of the day declared him to be "*a valiant and godly gentleman.*" His biographer is, therefore, called upon to accept this testimony as deserved, and to abstain from comparisons with as good, perhaps better, men. It is no dishonour to Richard Deane to be second to Robert Blake in piety, or in prowess. It is an honour and a testimonial that Blake was his *friend*.

II. As soon as the weather permitted, Blake re-

turned to the blockade of Kinsale, leaving Deane behind, at Milford Haven, to transport Cromwell and Ireton, and an army of 6,000 foot and 3,000 horse to Dublin, which was at this time closely besieged by the Royalists and Irish.

August 2, General Deane was at Plymouth, entertaining the Judges of the Western Circuit on board his flag-ship, "where they had much cheer and welcome." * Immediately after which he returned to Milford Haven and conveyed the army to Dublin in two divisions—Cromwell's in forty ships, and Ireton's in sixty; the arrangements, according to Whitelock, being excellent. Hugh Peters was the chaplain and scribe of the army, and wrote an account of the embarkation to the House of Commons.

The army landed in Dublin Bay on the 15th of August, and heard, to their surprise and disappointment, that Colonel Jones had sallied out a few days before, and given the besiegers a total overthrow—a pleasure which Cromwell had reserved for himself. But he followed up the blow, pursuing the retreating enemy to Drogheda—which he immediately invested.

Richard Deane had been appointed, two years before, "Lieutenant of Artillery in Ireland," but circumstances prevented his going at that time, and he was made Adjutant-General to the Army under Sir Thomas Fairfax. It would seem that he was now called upon by Cromwell to resume *pro*

* Contemporaneous Pamphlet, Brit. Mus.

tempore, his originally intended post as chief of the ordnance department in the army, and in that capacity accompany him on his campaign. There is no documentary proof of this, as far as I can discover, but one of his posthumous panegyrists, speaking of his services in Ireland, says—

“The Irishmen, or rather Roman frogs,
He made for safety, leap into their bogs,”

—which exploit, whether actual or only figurative, he could not have performed as a “*General at Sea*,” he must have gone on shore to do it.

A passage in his letter to Speaker Lenthall, dated Milford Haven, November 8, 1649, seems to allude to such a service: “I have, *ever since my coming out of Ireland*, been troubled with the distemper of that country’s disease, which brought me into a fever.” It is not unlikely, then, that he served on shore from August 15 to about October 15—a period of remarkable events, including the storming of Drogheda and Wexford, and the capture of Ross and Duncannon, together with the calamitous sickness of the army before the latter places.

That he did not serve in the field much longer than the middle of October appears from his letter dated Milford Haven, October 27th,* in which letter he gives an account of the state of the squadron under his command. This letter, addressed to “The Honourable Committee of State, for carrying on the Affairs of the Admiralty at Whitehall,” is as follows:—

* S. P. O.

GENTLEMEN,

There are divers of our frigotts and shipps that are for the winter guard gon in for Portsmouth, and going in. I humbly desire that you will lay your command on the Commissioners of the Navie, that they be hasted out, or else your service will suffer, for those we have out with us, are the *Phœnix*, *Lyon*, *Nonsuch*, *Guernsey* frigott, *Nicodemus*, *Concord*, and *Garland*. We shall want to keep all, except the *Garland*, but till that we have some of the Winter Guard returned to us. My partner Blake is on the coast of Munster with the *Guernsey* frigott and the *Nonsuch*. The *Satisfaction* and *Nicodemus* land the Army.* The *Hector* is at Plymouth, fetching their bread; the *Concord* is here laden with bread for the Army, whom I am sending away, and the *Garland* in company, for Wexford. The *Lyon* we have here for the safety of the place, being the great *rendezvous* for all the vessels from Ireland. The *Phœnix* I have sent to Plymouth, to change her beer that was brewed here, which for the most part stinketh; and I have given orders to her victualler to put two months' provision more on board—which, with care, will last her until after Christmas; for I fear we shall want shipping for the West Coast of Ireland if they stay no longer, as Captain Ball thinks, before they set out. I here enclose your Honours a list of the vessels that are now in Portsmouth to be fitted, or are coming with the first wind. I shall not trouble you further at present, but subscribe myself,

Your Honours' humble servant,

RI. DEANE.

The campaign of Munster was characteristically short, severe, and decisive. When Cromwell landed on the 15th August, Dublin and Londonderry were almost the only places which had not been wrested

* *i. e.* the horse regiments left behind in August for want of transports.— See Whitelocke.

from the Protestants. The case was urgent, and Cromwell was equal to the emergency. The rapidity of his conquests paralysed the exertions of the native Irish who had taken up arms for the King. Town after town fell by storm or capitulation before the irresistible conqueror; and his name became so formidable that "*The Curse of Cromwell*" has been, ever since, the most bitter malediction which an Irish peasant can employ against his enemy.

The memorable storming of Tredagh (Drogheda), which has been so often cited in proof of Cromwell's cruelty, took place September 11, 1649. The "cruelty" was not in this instance inflicted upon the Irish—for the garrison, to which no quarter was given, was chiefly English, and would not accept quarter. They were all most bigoted Roman Catholics, and only received the treatment to which they had subjected the unfortunate Protestants who had come into their power, whom they handed over to their barbarous co-religionists, the Irish, to be massacred without cause and without mercy, in warm or cold blood.

Oliver Cromwell justified his own severity in his letter to Speaker Lenthall, dated Dublin, 17th September, in these words:—

"I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have embued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future: which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret."

From Drogheda the army marched to Wexford accompanied by the fleet, which landed the siege guns, and assisted in the bombardment of the castle. The town was stormed on the 11th of October, with the same unsparing vigour as Drogheda, and on the same grounds of justification.

After the storming of Wexford, Cromwell sat down before Ross and Duncannon; both of which strong places were taken with ease, but not without the infliction of great loss upon the army through sickness.

Richard Deane in his letter of November 8 (inserted below) alludes to these sieges as if he had been personally present at them. It is just possible that he may have been at Ross (October 17-19); and perhaps it was in the bogs and marshes of its vicinity that he caught that "country's disease," under which he was compelled to return to Milford Haven. This disease, whether intermittent fever or dysentery, was a very wearing and in some cases a very fatal one. With Hugh Peters it assumed the latter form, as Dr. Young mentions in his evidence against him at his trial in 1661; and with Ireton, who had the same "country's disease" before Limerick, it was a burning fever.

The letter of General Deane, above referred to, has never, to my knowledge, been quoted in any memoir relating to those times, and is, in my opinion, a valuable historical document. It is doubly valuable as characteristic of the man. It is addressed to Speaker Lenthall as a private letter,

but contains some suggestions useful to the public service. The original is in the Bodleian Library.

MR. SPEAKER,

Having this day received intelligence from my Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and Colonel Blake of Cork declaring for the Parliament of England, and turning out Major-General Sterling and the Irish (of which I believe my partner Col. Blake has given the State some account), and now having had a clear narrative by one who was an actor in the whole business, I thought myself obliged to give you this account of it.

The 16th of October, at night, Col. Townsend, Col. Warden, and Col. Gifford, being three prisoners for the affair of Youghall, were ordered to be disposed into their several castles. Next day some of the officers of the town came to these gentlemen at night and told them that they were undone unless they would stand by them, for else they would be slaves to the Irish. Upon which the three colonels replied, that if they would fetch for each of them a sword and pistols they would live and die with them; which was done, and the guards perceiving them coming down stairs armed cried, "*We are for you, too!*" And from thence they marched to the main guard, and *they* immediately declared for them upon this general consent, crying "*Out with the Irish!*" in which all the townsmen which were English and the soldiers unanimously agreed, and put it presently in execution. They put out the next morning their Major-General Sterling, and those few that dissented. And since that Youghall has done the same, as this gentleman informs me that came from Cork but two days since. And those of Youghall had writ to Col. Gifford (the present Governor of Cork) to send Col. Warden with 100 men to their assistance, for they had seized Sir Percy Smith, their governor, and Johnson which betrayed them formerly, and some others, and had secured them in the castle. Thus it hath pleased God of His infinite goodness to help when men were most

weak, for truly, after the taking of Ross and besieging of Duncannon (a place of great strength and concernment), what with sickness, and garrisons, and that siege, my Lord-Lieutenant was unable to attempt anything farther upon the enemies, and still is, except you hasten the recruits of horse and foot, with those provisions of clothes and necessaries, so long promised and so earnestly expected.

Truly, Sir, methinks every English heart should act more than an ordinary pace when we see such a series of Divine Providences going along with us, and miraculously assisting beyond all human apprehensions, which I hope all honest hearts are sensible of, lest, having such an opportunity given them, they, neglecting it, should wander in the wilderness many years.

Ormonde and O'Neile are joined, and lie within fourteen miles of Ross. They give themselves out to be 20,000, but it is credibly reported from a sure hand to be 7,000 foot and 3,000 horse at least; which how much it exceeds the number you are able to make to encounter them I will not say, but this I am sure that expedition in all supplies is the life of your business. Rupert, three days after Cork declaring for the Parliament, in great haste sailed from Kinsale with seven ships; which way he is gone we know not, but it concerns you to hasten out as many of the winter guard as are come in to be victualled and fitted.

I think it would be a service to the Commonwealth if you could persuade Mr. Prideaux to settle the stages of the posts in Wales, that our letters might pass more certainly and speedily, it being the only way for my Lord-Lieutenant to hold intercourse with the Parliament during his absence in those parts of Ireland where he now is, and also a thing he much desires.

I have ever since my coming out of Ireland been troubled with the distemper of that country's disease, which brought me into a fever, and after I had, with keeping my bed, pretty well recovered myself, I went abroad somewhat too soon, and relapsed into a violent burning, which hath made me a

prisoner to my bed ever since, and I am afraid I shall make you the like to this paper; but, lest you should be as weary of this letter as I am of my bed, give me leave to subscribe myself,

SIR,

Your Honour's humble servant,

RI. DEANE.

Sir—Be pleased to take this as a private letter to yourself.

Milford Haven, November 8, 1649.

From the sentiments and general style of the foregoing letter, as well as from its plain practical good sense, it is evident that the writer was not only an educated but also a thoughtful man. It is not the mind or language of a "*Hoyman's servant*" which here speaks by the pen of Richard Deane. The energy which defied a burning fever, and the forethought which in spite of bodily depression could anticipate the wants and necessities of his country's service, are the characteristics of an able officer.

The circumstances attending the capture or revolt of Cork, as detailed by General Deane, are corroborated by Lady Fanshawe, who was lying on a bed of sickness in that city at the time. She had been thrown from her horse and broken her left wrist:—"I was in bed when Cork revolted. By chance my husband was gone on business to Kin-sale. At midnight I heard two guns go off, and thereupon I called up my family to rise, which I did as well as I could in that condition. Hearing lamentable shrieks of men, women, and children, I

ask'd at a window the cause; they told me they were all Irish, stripped and wounded and turned out of the town, and that Colonel Jefferies, with some others, had possessed themselves of the town for Cromwell." *

Lady Fanshawe escaped and joined her husband, but Cork was irrecoverably lost to the King. The Princes Rupert and Maurice had a narrow escape of being taken at this time, especially Prince Rupert, for the Governor of Cork had laid a snare for him which, by the merest accident, failed of success. The account is from a MS. kept by an officer in his service at Kinsale, quoted by Eliot Warburton in his "*Rupert and the Cavaliers.*"

"His Majesty having had a defeat before Dublin, the garrisons about us began to revolt, so as we were to expect an enemy as well by land as by sea, and not being well assured of the Governor's fidelity in the post where we were, His Highness surprised the Fort of Kinsale for security of the fleet, which proved of necessary consequence, for the circumjacent garrisons were already delivered to the enemy. The Governor of Cork, intending to betray the town, resolved to make himself famous by an infamous act before his intended treachery, to which purpose, knowing that His Highness loved hunting, he invited him to the chase of a deer close by the town. But Heaven, abhorring such inhumanity, prevented the design by providing important business to impede His Highness's intentions. Being again importuned by the Governor for the same sport he mistrusted him, who seeing himself frustrated of his design speedily surrendered the town. This was seconded by another plot: the enemy had engaged an ensign belonging to the Prince to betray his

* Autobiography of Lady Fanshawe, p. 87.

guard at the entrance of the harbour ; which he endeavoured with part of his men, but being discovered and apprehended they were deservedly executed. His Highness being ready to put to sea, invested the (King's) Lord Lieutenant with the fort, and we were driven to begin the world again with seven sails."

III. As soon as General Deane had recovered from his "Irish fever" he joined Blake in the Irish Channel, and on the 18th December was at anchor with him in Cork Harbour. He had been appointed by Cromwell a Commissioner for the temporary "management of affairs" at Cork, in conjunction with Blake, Sir William Fenton, and Colonel Phayre. "One or other of them," says Cromwell in his letter to the Hon. T. Scott, Nov. 14, "will be frequently in Cork Harbour, making that a victualling place for the fleet instead of Milford Haven." The sagacity of Cromwell in selecting Cork for the victualling place of the Navy has been confirmed by the experience of two centuries, Cork being still an important naval depôt for that purpose.

General Deane returned to Portsmouth in February 1649-50 in the *Phoenix* frigate to receive a renewal of his commission as one of the Generals at Sea. He was re-appointed, with Popham and Blake, for another year, and was again stationed on the Western and Irish coasts, while Blake was sent in pursuit of Rupert, who was daily capturing and plundering all merchant ships which bore the English flag, and (if he has not been maligned)

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every other defenceless ship that came in his way. But the fortune of Rupert prevailed, and he was never overtaken. His less fortunate brother Maurice went down with his whole ship's crew during a storm in the Atlantic.

The services of the Generals at Sea had been so effectual in protecting the shores of England that the House of Commons, with prudent gratitude, rewarded them with gold chains, and medals bearing on the obverse a representation of the House, and on the reverse the word *MERUITI*. Similar medals in silver were given to their officers, and of inferior metal, but bearing the same well-chosen motto, to the sailors. All had deserved well of their country; for in spite of many drawbacks, caused by the neglect of civil officials on shore, they had established the character of the Navy.

General Deane, on his re-appointment, hoisted his flag on board of the *Resolution* 88, but did not proceed to sea for some weeks. On the 11th of April he was at Whitehall* with General Popham, from which place they addressed a joint letter to the Commissioners of the Navy, complaining of the bad supply of fish to ships at Yarmouth, and, stating that "the seamen repine much thereat," they urged immediate attention to the matter, "to prevent inconveniences that might otherwise arise to the service from their discontent."

This correcting and reforming spirit pervades the correspondence of General Deane with the officials

* S. P. O.

of the Navy and Admiralty. There is scarcely a letter of his now extant which does not point out some neglect or abuse demanding instant attention "*lest the Service should suffer.*" The boldness of these remonstrances from an officer holding only an annual appointment, and subject to dismissal from a lucrative and honourable office at the close of his year, is a remarkable feature of his character. But, in justice to his colleagues, we must add that they went hand in hand with him in this honest discharge of their duties. Due regard to the common sailor and his comforts on board ship is the burden of many an official letter of the Generals, and it speaks well for the Naval Commissioners themselves that such freedom of remonstrance was taken by them in good part.

The smallest matters seem not to have been too minute for the vision of General Deane; private interests as well as public were watched over by him with the same attention.

May 1.—A Mr. Marriott, who was going out with him as master in his flag ship, had been some time a clerk in the Victualling Office, and his pay in that capacity was considerably in arrears. If the treasurer thought that, in his joy at this promotion, Marriott would forget the arrears due to him, or, remembering them, would not be able to make sufficient interest for their recovery, he must have been as greatly surprised as mistaken when he heard that General Deane had written a strong letter in his favour to the authorities, stating his

case, and demanding instant attention to it.* This is but one instance of his constant care for the rights and interests of his inferiors, as may be seen in the State Paper Office Correspondence of the times.

The character of the man is incomplete without an ample illustration of it from his letters.

May 7.—He wrote again from on board the *Resolution*, in Lea Road, a letter endorsed “*For the Special Service of the State. Hast ! hast ! post hast ! with speed !*” and his directions were promptly attended to—the date of the day and hour of its receipt are duly recorded upon the back of the letter at every post-house—Gravesend, Dartford, and Southwark. The purport of it may seem to be below the importance ascribed to it by its superscription, for it was only to hasten a hoy with water for the Fleet, but it shows the General’s anxiety for the comforts of his men.

May 10.—He writes from the Downs to the Commissioners of the Victualling Office the following unwelcome letter :—

GENTLEMEN,

I have received letters from my partner, Colonel Popham, from Plymouth, intimating that the victuallers there could not provide beef, pork, and poor jack for the four State’s ships designed southward—the *Resolution*, *Andrew*, *Phœnix*, and *Satisfaction*—and do desire that the *Resolution* and *Phœnix* may take in their proportion at Portsmouth. I received at the same time letters from the Council of the Admiralty, leaving me to do accordingly, and advising me that they had

written to you also about it. But I, finding that the going of the *Resolution* thither might be a great retarding of the business whereto she is designed, have taken out of the *Paragon* (having her complete beef and pork for Ireland) two months' provision of that sort, and I have borrowed one hundred pounds of Captain Harrison, Commander of the *Rainbow*, to lend the purser of the *Paragon*, towards the providing of beef in Ireland, and do desire you will take care to have him supplied with beef, pork, and money for the rest. I have likewise taken out of the *Rainbow* two months' beef, pork, and pease. So that out of both these ships I have furnished the *Resolution* now with two months' provision of beef, pork, and pease more than she had, and for bread, my partner, Colonel Popham, writes me word there may be bread enough had at Plymouth.

My desire is that you will write to Colonel Willoughby to send by him the shallop which (as my partner Colonel Popham writes me) you promised to send with the *Satisfaction*, and that he should get ready what victual of beef, pork, and poor jack more he can provide there, and I will send the *Amerika* merchant-ship to fetch it away, and I do desire you also to take care that the bill of £100 I borrowed of Captain Harrison may be paid on sight thereof.

You wrote to my partner, Col. Popham, the 28th of April last, that barricoes, iron hoops, coopers' stores, log-lines, and glasses would be on board the *Resolution* the next day, but here none have come yet; and, therefore, if the officers whom you appoint to look to these things are not more diligent, I believe the service must suffer, as it doth much already, for they have many of these things to send aboard when the ships are sailing.

I shall not trouble you further at present but to assure you

That I am,

Yo^r loving friend,

RI. DEANE.

On board the *Resolution*,

In y^e Downs, May 10, 1650.

While General Deane was in the Downs he received a letter from the Council of State, dated May 8, "to acquaint him with the matter of fact of the seizure of English ships by the French in France, and to desire him to send a messenger to the Governor of Havre-de-Grace, or to any other port upon the French coast, to demand of him, or them, all such English ships as were seized in that nation, that they might be forthwith restored, and otherwise to demand a reason for their so doing."*

On 17th May instructions were sent to General Deane, "to seize French ships at sea, towards restitution for damage done by them to English merchants."

The cause of these hostile proceedings on the part of the French was the previous seizure, by Blake, of French ships, in reprisal of the refuge afforded at Toulon to Prince Rupert, and allowing him to sell English ships which he had taken in French ports.

Nothing important arose out of these measures—probably because the French made restitution and gave satisfaction—for they were not in a condition to defy the Parliament of England.

On the 15th May General Deane was at Whitehall, on which occasion he appointed a "glazier" to the Fleet. This is one of the instances of the minute matters which had to pass under the eyes of the Generals at Sea. Not a purser, gunner, chirurgeon, carpenter, boatswain, or cook was ad-

* Thurloe Papers.

mitted on board any of the State's ships, except under a commission from one of the Generals. By far the greatest number of such appointments in 1650 were made by General Deane.*

Early in June he removed his flag to the *Speaker* frigate. On 19th he writes from on board the *Speaker*, in the Downs, two letters in favour of Captain Penn—one official, "To the Committee for the Affairs of the Navy," the other, private, to Sir Henry Vane, junior, a member of that Committee, to back his application. These letters show him in an amiable light, as an active friend to a deserving man. Had Mr. Granville Penn, the affectionate biographer of his ancestor, seen these letters he would not probably have looked with such severity on the regicide landsman, set by the influence of Cromwell over gallant seamen, to control their instinctive loyalty.

Letter 1. To the Committee.

GENTLEMEN,

I am informed by Captain Penn that his men have been a great while on short allowance of victuals to lengthen out their provisions until their time on the Irish Coast. I desire that you will take order to accompt with the seamen for the same (before you pay them off) and give them content in money, as you shall find it due. The well-satisfying of the mariners for this may be a great encouragement to them to undergo the like hardships in future if an occasion should be.

I doubt not of your readiness therein, and therefore, leaving the performance to your care,

I remain,

Your loveing friend,

RI. DEANE.

* S. P. O. *passim*.

P.S.—After the concluding hereof I received intimation from Capt. Coppin (in the *Amity* frigatt) of the loose and dissolute carriage of his present purser—that he is a very drunken fellow, lying ashore six weeks at a time from his business, insomuch that I do not consider him a fit man to be continued any longer in his place, and desire, therefore, that you will dismiss him from the service, and send down very sodainely one John Pultock, late purser of the *Reformation*, at Chatham, whom I think to be a very honest and able man, or else some other whom you think more fit to take the charge of purser on board, instead of him that is now to be dismissed—the frigatt going to take her victuals at Harwich.

RI. DEANE.

Letter 2. To Sir Henry Vane, junior.

DEAR SIR,

I have not much to write to you but what is in publike to the Committee, only I have this to desire you. Captain Penn hath, with more than ordinary care, kept his men on the Coast of Ireland, getting six to four men's allowance, and drinking water, both he and all the ships with him. And if there be not special care taken that they may have viii^d *per diem* for their victuals, and ii^d a man a-day for their beer, those days (that) they had (short) provisions and drank water, you will make the seamen that they will mutiny hereafter and upon no exigent be brought to it again.

I shall not say more to you in so right a thing, and therefore I shall hasten to subscribe myself

Yo^r affectionate friend

And servant,

RI. DEANE.

19 June, 1650,
On board the *Speaker*,
In the Downs.

This letter is endorsed—

“ Mr. Penn himself is out of money for bringing down divers gentlemen, by your order, out of Ireland, and therefore you ought to consider him. His petition is before you.”

The familiarity with which Richard Deane writes to Sir Henry Vane, one of the ablest men of the day and the leading spirit of the Council of State, is no small indication of the estimation in which he was held by the ruling powers. To be the personal friend of such a man was a distinction of which any man in those days would have been proud. When Cromwell, three years afterwards, turned out of the House those Members of Parliament whom he hated or feared, he branded one as a “*drunkard*,” another as an “*adulterer*,” and so on, having an appropriate epithet of abuse for each, but all that he could say against the ablest, and to him the most dangerous man of all was, “*Sir Harry Vane ! Sir Harry Vane ! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane !*”

IV. Shortly after this, General Deane sailed to Plymouth to join his division of the fleet, which he found so badly supplied that he deemed it his duty to make another serious complaint to the Board of Admiralty. In this, he dashes at once *in medias res*, for he had no mind for euphonious circumlocution—the case was far too intolerable to be smoothly introduced.

GENTLEMEN,

The beef in the several ships with me hath been so much complained of by the mariners, that I was forced to order a

survey thereof, whereupon I was certified that the beef in the *Nonsuch* and *President* frigatts doth most of it stink, being put aboard very carelessly (as they find) in bloody pickle, which we thought to be the cause thereof. And that which is on board our own ship is very much defected. I caused them in the *Nonsuch* to buy salt and make new pickle for preserving what they can till it be eaten. And for that in the *President*, there is very little but what is past recovery. I shall, the next time that we come in hither, be necessitated to put a great deal of it ashore, and therefore desire you will give order to the victuallers at Plymouth to supply it again. I was unwilling to do it now, until you had notice of it. Wherefore I pray, please to let me hear from you about it against we come to this place again some ten days hence.

Which is all at present from

Your assured friend

RI. DEANE.

From on board the *Speaker* setting
sail from Plymouth Sound, this
24th day of July, 1650.

The officers of the Victualling Board made an excuse—but not a very successful one—for the negligence of their officials, in reference to this complaint. Their letter is in the British Museum, Addl. MSS. 9302.

General Deane cruised about the Channel until October, when he returned to London. On the 31st August he was in the Downs, and from the 9th to the 12th of September he lay in Yarmouth Roads. As an ordinary instance of his prompt and business-like habits the following letter to Captain Penn may be adduced :—

SIR,

I desire you, all former orders notwithstanding, on receipt hereof, to make your speedy repair forthwith unto Ports

mouth with the *Fairfax* under your command, and there careen, and fit your said ship with all things wanting that you stand in need of, which I have written to Colonel Willoughby to get in readiness against you come. Pray let me have an intimation of what is done therein, and then expect further orders from me.

I am, your assured friend,

RI. DEANE.

Whitehall, Oct. 25, 1650.

This letter is endorsed—

For ye Special Service of the State.
To Captain William Penn, Vice-Admiral
of the Irish Squadron, and Captain of
The ship *Fairfax* riding in Torbay—These!

Haste! haste! haste!

Post haste!

Oct. 25, 1650. Past 10 at night.

RI. DEANE.

The above letter is interesting from the fact that a Lieutenant *Grimsditch* had been appointed First Lieutenant to the *Fairfax* in the earlier part of this year; and was made by Penn captain of a Portuguese prize of 26 guns, taken off the Azores, January, 165 $\frac{0}{1}$ —a promotion which was confirmed on his arrival in England. There is reason for conjecturing that he was brother of General Deane's wife. If so, his promotion would be easily accounted for. Penn, who owed his promotion as Vice-Admiral to Deane, would naturally take the first opportunity of repaying the obligation, by advancing the General's relation to the rank of Captain. "Such things are done every day."

CHAPTER XV.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND.—BATTLE OF DUNBAR.—ARRIVAL OF GENERAL DEANE WITH THE FLEET.—HIS SERVICES IN SCOTLAND.—INVASION OF ENGLAND BY THE SCOTS.—BATTLE OF WORCESTER.—GREAT GALLANTRY AND TOTAL DEFEAT OF THE ROYALISTS.—APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL DEANE ON THE COMMISSION FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF SCOTLAND.

I. The troubles of Ireland had hardly subsided when a still more serious conjunction of parties occurred in Scotland, in favour of the Stuart dynasty. The Scottish Parliament had proclaimed Charles the Second King, and opened a correspondence with him at Breda, in consequence of which the Marquis of Montrose crossed over from Holland to the Orkneys, with some foreign troops, and, recruiting an additional force there, landed in Caithness, and marched straight for the Highlands.

But the Presbyterians of the Kirk, although they had proclaimed Charles the Second, were not prepared to receive an enemy of the Solemn League and Covenant in the person of the King's lieutenant, who was certainly an Episcopalian, and might be at heart a Papist. They accordingly sent an army against him, and Montrose, being ultimately defeated at Philiphaugh, was betrayed into the hands of the ruling powers, and executed at Edinburgh as a traitor to the estates of Scotland.

This proceeding, which was little short of a judicial murder, was said to have been prompted by the Marquis of Argyle, from motives of private vengeance, and in retaliation for the defeats which he had formerly undergone from Montrose. A few years afterwards, Argyle himself expiated in the same place, and upon the same block, his ungenerous conduct to his rival.

This serious crime or mistake cost Scotland her liberty, for the English Parliament, alive to the dangers of a covenanting King, for whom the Scotch were in arms, sent hastily to Ireland for Cromwell, who arriving in London in May 1650 was received by the Government with honours proportionate to their alarms; and, upon the refusal of Sir Thomas Fairfax to serve against the Scotch Presbyterians, was appointed "Lord General and Commander in Chief." Fairfax is said to have thrown up his Commission at the instigation of Lady Fairfax, his wife, who was a severe Presbyterian, and looked upon the Scottish cause as that of religion and liberty. Cromwell's commission was dated June 26, and on the 29th he began his march for the North, and, entering Scotland by Berwick on the 22nd of July, encamped at Haddington. On the third of September the great and decisive victory of Dunbar was gained, and Scotland lay at the mercy of England. It was one of the most crushing defeats ever sustained by that nation.

The details of the battle of Dunbar belong to general history, and have no connection with the

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subject of this memoir, who was, at the time, cruising in the Channel along the east coasts of England, to intercept any reinforcements to the Royal cause from Holland.

Scotland, however, though broken in strength and spirit by this defeat, was not yet quite prostrate; neither was the cause of Charles the Second entirely hopeless so long as Cromwell's army, for want of supplies, was unable to move from its base of operations at Leith. This difficulty was, at length, overcome by the arrival of General Deane, on the 29th of March, with his fleet, in which he had embarked his own regiment of foot, and large supplies of the munitions of war. Among these he "brought twenty-seven large flat-bottomed boats for the transport of troops across the Frith of Forth into Fife, that so thereby a quick despatch might be made of this work, so far advanced already."*

The practical mind of RICHARD DEANE had anticipated the difficulties of a campaign in a country so indented with creeks and friths, and so covered by lakes, as Scotland. And the success of the campaign, which was chiefly secured by the employment of these boats, justifies this selection of a land general to be one of the Generals at Sea, and the subsequent employment of the General at Sea on land.

This arrival of General Deane was most opportune. Cromwell, owing to a month's exposure in

* Perfect Politician, p. 169.

the marshes of Dunbar, had been taken ill with an intermittent fever, and all the operations of the army were paralysed by his illness. But the arrival of the fleet, under the command of his well-trying friend, gave new spirit to his councils, and new vigour to his exertions. He subdued or threw off his ague by the innate power of his strong will, and, with the beacon of hope once more before his eyes, resumed his aggressive movements against the enemy. Edinburgh had already fallen to his arms, and the greater part of the south of Scotland followed its example. But the Scotch army had only retreated to Stirling, and had there entrenched itself so strongly that a direct assault was out of the question, and the only chance of dislodging it was by cutting off its supplies in the rear.

With this object, Cromwell re-organised his staff on the 6th of May. RICHARD DEANE was added to Lambert as "*Major-General of the Army*;" Monk continuing in his post of *Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance*. For Fleetwood, the appointed "*Lieutenant-General of the Army*"—that is, second in command to Cromwell—had not yet joined. Thus Major-General Lambert was, *pro tempore*, acting Lieutenant-General; and Deane, as Major-General* *of the Army*, succeeded Lambert, taking precedence of Monk, his hitherto senior; which must have been very grievous to that sensitive but eminently

* The order of rank was the same as it is now: *General, Lieutenant-General, Major-General, Colonel, &c.* But a Major-General *of the Army* was third in command, over all mere Lieutenant-Generals, and next to the Lieutenant-General *of the Army*, who was second only to the *Lord General*.

cautious man, who reaped, as will be hereafter seen, the fruits of his prudent taciturnity on this, and on a subsequent similar, supersession by Deane. The army now consisted of—

FOOT.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. The Lord General's Regiment. | 7. Col. Goffe's. |
| 2. Major-General Lambert's. | 8. Col. West's. |
| 3. Major-General Deane's. | 9. Col. Cooper's. |
| 4. Lieut.-General Monk's. | 10. Col. Ashfield's. |
| 5. Col. Fairfax's. | 11. Col. Daniel's. |
| 6. Col. Pride's. | 12. Col. Reade's. |

HORSE.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. The Lord General's. | 8. Col. Okey's. |
| 2. Lieut.-General Fleetwood's. | 9. Col. Lidcot's. |
| 3. Major-General Lambert's. | 10. Col. Berry's. |
| 4. Comm.-General Whalley's. | 11. Col. Grosvenor's. |
| 5. Col. Tomlinson's. | 12. Col. Alured's. |
| 6. Col. Twisleton's. | 13. Major Husband's. |
| 7. Col. Hacker's. | 14. Col. Rob. Lilburne's. |

Dragoons (six troops) Major Mercer's.*

II. On the 25th of June, 1651, the English Army, supported by sixty pieces of artillery, assembled on the Pentland Hills; and on the 2nd of July marched through Linlithgow towards Stirling, where the Scottish army lay entrenched.

The flat-bottomed boats, brought by General Deane, were now put in requisition, and a strong division under Lambert was conveyed by them across the Forth to Fife, under the personal super-

* Hist. of the Coldstream Guards, i. 126.

intendence of *Deane*.* A Scottish Army, under Sir John Brown, was in occupation of Fife, and opposed Lambert's progress. A sanguinary battle ensued, which terminated in the total defeat of the Scotch, and the capture of Sir John Brown himself, together with between forty and fifty stands of colours.

By this victory the country was opened as far as Perth, or St. John's Town, as it was then usually called; and the main army of the Scots and Royalists was isolated at Stirling, and cut off from its supplies.

On the 24th July *Oliver Cromwell* and *Richard Deane*† reconnoitred together the position of the Scottish Army from Bannockburn, with a view to an attack; but found it too strongly posted to promise any certainty of being attacked with success. It was resolved, therefore, to offer them battle in the field, and ten regiments of horse and ten of foot were sent round, with eight pieces of cannon, in the hope that the Scotch, alarmed at the movement, would anticipate the attack by attacking, as at Dunbar, and thus fall into the same snare. For, hand to hand, their raw levies were no match for the veterans of Cromwell. But the Scotch were too wary to repeat the fatal blunder. The prophesying ministers, who had seduced them into the field of Dunbar, had either lost their influence, or had become too wise to exert it, and Leslie was left

* Daily Intelligencer.—King's Pamphlets, B. M. No. 504.

† See Cromwell's Letter to the President of the Council of State.—Carlyle.

to his own strategy—which was not unworthy of the education he had received in the Low Countries.

His caution baffled Cromwell for the time; but the confidence of the Lord General in his own ultimate success was unabated, and to the warnings which he received from London, that the enemy might elude him and break into England, he replied, on the 26th July, that “the troops which he had disposed on the south side of Stirling were amply sufficient to repel any such attempts.”

But in this he was woefully mistaken, for the Scots, cut off from the north and east, and straitened for food and supplies, sallied out of camp, and by a bold manœuvre vigorously executed eluded the vigilance of the English, and by forced marches through Biggar arrived near Carlisle on the 6th of August, only two days after the first report of their escape had reached Cromwell.

This unexpected movement was made by Leslie while Cromwell and Deane, with a part of the army, were absent on an expedition against Perth. The town held out for two days and then capitulated, but the time thus lost was not to be recovered. Cromwell, as soon as he heard of Leslie's raid into England, sent Lambert and Harrison, with a strong body of horse, to hang upon his rear, and retard him by frequent skirmishes until he could come up with the rest of his army. But Leslie was not to be seduced, in this manner, into a halt. Covered by his own light horse, who moved much faster than the heavy

cavalry of Lambert, he outfought or outmanœuvred his pursuers, and hopelessly distanced Cromwell.

Never was Oliver Cromwell so surprised and outgeneralled. His letter, dated August 4, in which he informs the Parliament of what had occurred, betrays his chagrin, even under the mask of confidence. The Scotch were gone, and he did not know in what direction. He attributes their evacuation of the Camp at Stirling to "desperation and fear, and inevitable necessity." Sir Philip Warwick takes the same view of the case, as most Englishmen did. His remarks are pertinent to our subject:—"When Cromwell was sent to subdue the Scots, his ships were lighter but his arms were heavier. He takes in the Firth; afterwards he runs up with his ships to Inverness or those parts, and cuts off all communication between the north and south of Scotland, insomuch that he forced our present King Charles the Second, afterwards defeated at Worcester, rather to march into England upon necessity than choice."*

But I can understand Scotch writers claiming for their General Leslie an *ab initio* design of invading England, and effecting a junction with the Welsh and Western Royalists, and then marching upon London, in the confident expectation of overthrowing the Parliament before Cromwell could come to their assistance. It was with this object, they might contend, that Leslie enticed Cromwell to cross the Firth. And, if we may judge from the

* Memoirs, p. 143.

first promises of success which attended the movement, there seems to be ground for believing that the Scotch General for once outmanœuvred the English. Had the Welsh been equally active in meeting and joining him at Chester, and the Western Royalists at Worcester, the march upon London and the overthrow of the Parliament would, humanly speaking, have been effected.

General Deane's flat-bottomed boats were again most useful to the army, by reconveying them across the Firth and putting them upon the track of the enemy. Deane himself, as Major-General, accompanied Cromwell in the pursuit, taking his own regiment with him.

The Scots, in the meantime, marched as few but Scottish troops can march, regardless of rest or food, and intent only upon the object before them. Lambert's and Harrison's horse, finding they could do nothing effectual upon their rear, made a circuit and passed them, and thus, having gained a march in advance, took up a position on Warrington Bridge. But they were speedily dislodged, and the Scots passed on to Shrewsbury, which they summoned in the King's name to surrender; being disregarded, they lost no time there, but marched on to Worcester, where they expected to find the Welsh and English Royalists, very few of whom kept tryst. Here, however, they found it necessary to halt. King Charles set up his standard on the 22nd of August, and "the faithful city" prepared to defend it.

Worcester,* both city and county, was among the strongest holds of the Royal Cause. Several regiments had been raised here in 1644 for Charles the First. Sir James Hamilton raised, at the expense of the county, one of Horse and one of Dragoons, 400 men in each, besides a regiment of Infantry, 1,000 strong. This latter was cut to pieces at Devizes. Sir Samuel Sandys of Ombersley raised three regiments,—one of Horse, 600, one of Dragoons, 700, and one of Foot, 1,000, *all at his own cost*, and all Worcestershire men. This proved fidelity of the county caused Charles to fix upon Worcester as his rallying point, and here he awaited with some confidence, for the place was strong, the forces of the Parliament. “Worcester might repeat the success of its neighbour Gloucester in a better cause,”—so thought the unfortunate King.

Oliver Cromwell followed as rapidly as his men could march, by way of York, Nottingham, and Coventry, raising the county militias as he passed, and in six days after the King had set up his standard appeared in sight of Worcester with 30,000 men, having been joined by Fleetwood and Lambert at Warwick. His army was now divided into four divisions, under himself as General,

* Symonds's Diary (1644) celebrates the loyalty of Worcester by informing us that the Corporation who rode out to meet the King—Charles the First—“wore scarlet gowns faced with *Sathan!*” Cromwell would have accepted the spelling as expressive of the spiritual influence by which they were moved.

Fleetwood Lieutenant-General, and Lambert and Deane Major-Generals.

The King had scarcely more than half the numbers of the enemy, but he possessed the advantage of strong fortifications in a friendly city, which, with the excellent officers who commanded his army, almost compensated for the disparity of numbers; for, besides Leslie and Middleton, he had *Massey*, the late Parliamentarian General, who had so successfully defended Gloucester against the late King, and given the first turn of the war against him, and it was confidently expected that he would do the same for the cause which he had now adopted. There would have been very good grounds for this confidence if circumstances had been similar; but such was not the case, for when Massey gained his reputation there was no one opposed to him with the genius of Cromwell. Besiegers and besieged were both equally inexperienced. Now, however, the besiegers were veterans, and the besieged, for the most part, raw levies and volunteers. The result, therefore, however long postponed, was certain, and Cromwell and his able Generals did their best to accelerate it.

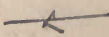
III. The third of September, 1651, the anniversary of the victory of Dunbar, was, perhaps, with a politic superstition, chosen for the day of battle. It was the last struggle of despair and hope. The English Royalists never fought so well—the Scots never better. But the fortune and genius of Crom-

well and the steady valour of his veterans prevailed.

To the achievement of this victory the skill and courage of *Richard Deane* not a little contributed. He commanded a division under Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, having Lambert's Horse with him during the first part of the battle, and fought his way up to the walls of Worcester, against Massey, with a resolution which no efforts of the enemy could withstand—"beating them," according to Cromwell's dispatch, "*from hedge to hedge.*"

As this was the last action upon land in which General Deane was engaged, and the battle itself of such importance, I may be excused for entering into fuller details than usual in a biographical memoir.

The advanced guard of horse, under Major-General Lambert, reached Upton, ten miles southwest of Worcester, on the 28th of August, and found the bridge of six arches over the Severn blown up by orders of Massey, who held the Pass of Powick, a village between Upton and Worcester on the small river Teme, which falls into the Severn a mile and-half below the city.

Lambert's dragoons and Deane's regiment of foot laid planks across the broken arches of Upton Bridge, and, "creeping over them upon their bellies,"* seized the post and restored the bridge; "the Generals Lambert and *Deane* (says the same chronicle) *working at it with their own hands.*" Worcester 

* See Contemporary Journal.

The next morning Deane's division, supported by Lambert's horse, crossed the river, and seizing upon Upton town and church defended themselves from repeated attacks of Massey until the arrival of Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, when Lambert recrossed and rejoined Cromwell, who had by this time come up on the left bank of the Severn.

Early in the morning of September 3, Fleetwood and *Deane* advanced with their entire commands upon the Pass of Powick, with the purpose of forcing it and investing that side of the river, while Cromwell and Lambert made a simultaneous movement on the other side. Fleetwood had with him his own regiments of horse and foot, Colonel Twisleton's horse, and *Deane's* and Goffe's foot. *Deane* marched at the head of his own regiment.* The whole consisted of about 1,200 horse and 3,000 foot. "They brought with them twenty great boats with planks for the purpose of making two bridges, one across the Teme at its mouth, and the other just below across the Severn, to communicate with Cromwell and Lambert. They arrived at the junction of the river at 2 p.m., and in *half-an-hour* both bridges were completed, and forthwith a party of foot ran down over the bridge across the Severn, and began to skirmish on the side of the Teme towards Worcester." They were from Cromwell's and Lambert's divisions.

Fleetwood and Deane now assaulted the Pass of

* G. Downing to Lord —, also Scott and Salwey, Parliamentary Commissioners, to the President of the Council.

Powick vigorously, and were opposed by Massey with equal bravery. A hand-to-hand fight ensued of long duration and dubious result, until Fairfax's and Ingoldesby's regiments of foot came across the Severn bridge to their assistance, then twenty horse, then Cromwell's Life Guard, and, lastly, Cromwell's own regiment of horse—the redoubted Ironsides—led by Cromwell himself, for the moment was critical.

Massey, overpowered and severely wounded, fell slowly back, disputing the ground, “from hedge to hedge,” until near sunset, when he was compelled to take refuge within the walls of Worcester, and Fleetwood and DEANE occupied the suburb of St. John up to the west end of the bridge.

It was a severe and desperate struggle. A Dutch account of it makes the work of Fleetwood and *Deane* even harder than is admitted by the dispatches.

“The Scotch army,” it says, “had taken possession of several hedges, behind which they posted sharpshooters, who poured in a galling fire on the English troops. Fleetwood was ordered, with the assistance of Colonel Deane's and Colonel Goffe's regiments of infantry, to drive them from their position. This was done with much spirit, but the Scotch troops made such a gallant resistance that no advantage was obtained, and not a foot of ground was lost; and they gave so much trouble to their enemies that if Fleetwood had not obtained a con-

siderable support he would have gained but little honour by his attack.”*

While this was going on upon the right bank of the Severn, the garrison of Worcester, observing that the forces on the left bank had been weakened by the withdrawal of troops to the assistance of Fleetwood and Deane, sallied out suddenly, horse and foot, upon the division left with Colonel Pride, and drove them back in confusion upon Lambert's reserve, and all but routed the whole, when Cromwell, seeing the state of affairs, recrossed by Deane's bridge of boats, and restored the battle. He then charged the Royalists with such vigour that they were partially broken, and began to retreat; and, being again charged with increased impetuosity, gave way on all sides, and rushed precipitately back again into the royal fort, into which their pursuers entered *pell mell*, captured the fort, and drove them headlong into Worcester.

The gates were hastily closed upon them, but in vain; neither bars, nor gates, nor walls were any longer of avail against their own artillery of the royal fort, which Cromwell now turned upon them. The great gate of the city was battered down, and the Parliamentarians rushed through the breach, and a desperate hand-to-hand fight began within the streets—horse and foot mingled in inextricable confusion. Fleetwood and *Deane*, becoming aware of what was passing on the other side, forced the

* Hist. of the English Rebellion, p. 220.

bridge of the Severn and took the Royalists in rear, and the "CROWNING MERCY" was won.

The King's army, having no way of retreat open to them, were compelled, after a gallant resistance, and a loss of 2,000 killed, to lay down their arms. King Charles, with a few horsemen, cut his way through one of the gates, and escaped without being recognised—a deliverance no less fortunate to his enemies than to himself. For his capture would have been a serious embarrassment to them. They would not have dared to put him to death, and could hardly have kept him a prisoner for any length of time without exciting another insurrection, and bringing down upon them the indignation, and perhaps the combined hostility, of Europe.

The results of this battle were fatal to the Royal Cause. The last body of men in arms for the King was annihilated, and, still more unfortunately, all his best generals were either killed, taken, or disabled. The power of Scotland was broken, and there was hardly a village in England in which the fugitive King could lay down his head in safety.

The number of prisoners taken at Worcester amounted to *ten thousand!* The Royal standard and 118 colours were taken. The King's collar of S.S., all his personal effects, stores and baggage, all his artillery and horses, every thing but the clothes upon his back, and the horse on which he rode away, became the prize of the conquerors. The noblemen and officers taken prisoners were as influential as they were numerous. One duke, seven

earls, two barons, seven generals, six colonels of horse, twelve colonels of foot, nine lieutenant-colonels of horse and eight of foot, twenty-three majors, one hundred and nine captains, one hundred and twenty-seven quartermasters, and a proportionate number of subalterns, all prisoners, were undeniable evidence of a decisive victory.

The loss of the Parliamentarians could not have been small, considering that in the estimation of Cromwell the battle had been "as stiff a contest for four or five hours as he had ever seen." Yet, strange, if not incredible, he sets down his actual loss at only two hundred killed. Not a single officer of rank fell, and one only—Lambert—had even a horse shot under him.

IV. The dispatches of Cromwell, meagre as they usually are in details, are always worth reading. Two were written by him on this occasion; the first as soon as the last shot had been fired on the day of the victory, the second on the next day, when he had had an opportunity of realising some of its consequences.

1.—To the Honourable WILLIAM LENTHALL, Esq.
Speaker of the Parliament, These :

Near Worcester, 10 at night,
3 September, 1651.

SIR,

Being so weary and scarcely able to write, yet I thought it my duty to let you know thus much. That upon this day, being the 3rd of September (remarkable for a mercy vouchsafed to your forces this day twelvemonth in Scotland), we

built a bridge of boats over Severn, between it and Teme, within pistol shot of the other bridge. Lieut.-General Fleetwood and Major-General Deane marched from Upton, on the south-west side of Severn, up to Powick, a town which was a pass the enemy held. We from our side of the Severn passed over some horse and foot, and were in conjunction with the Lieutenant-General's forces. We beat the enemy from hedge to hedge until we beat them into Worcester. The enemy then drew all his forces on the other side of the town, all but what he had lost, and made a very considerable fight with us for three hours' space, but in the end we beat him totally, and pursued him to the Royal Fort, which we took, and indeed have beaten his whole army. When we took this fort we turned his own guns upon him. The enemy hath had a great loss, and certainly is scattered and run several ways. We are in pursuit of him, and have laid forces in several places, which we hope will gather him up. Indeed, this hath been a very glorious mercy, and as stiff a contest for four or five hours as ever I have seen.

Both your old forces and those newly raised have behaved with very great courage, and he that made them come out made them willing to fight for you. The Lord God Almighty frame our hearts to real thankfulness for this, which is alone His doing! I hope I shall, within a day or two, give you a more perfect account.

In the meantime I hope you will pardon,

SIR,

Your most humble Servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

2.—To the Honourable WILLIAM LENTHALL, Esq.
Speaker of the Parliament.

Worcester, Sept. 4, 1651.

SIR,

I am not yet able to give you an exact account of the great things the Lord hath wrought for this Commonwealth, and for His people, and yet I am unwilling to be silent . . .

This battle was fought with various success for some hours, but still hopeful on our part, and in the end became an absolute victory, and so full a one as proved a total defeat and ruin of the enemy's army, and a possession of the town, our men entering at the enemy's heels, and fighting with them in the streets with very great courage.

We took all their baggage and artillery; what the slain are I can give no account, because we have not taken an exact view, but they are very many, and must needs be so, because the dispute was long, and very near at hand, and often at push of pike, and from one defence to another. There are about 6,000 or 7,000 prisoners taken here, and many officers and noblemen of quality—Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Rothes, and divers other noblemen

Their army was about 16,000 strong, and fought ours on the Worcester side of the Severn, almost with their whole, whilst we had engaged half our army, on the other side, but with parties of theirs. Indeed it was a stiff business, yet I do not think we have lost two hundred The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts. It is, for aught I know, a Crowning Mercy

I am, &c.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

By the memorable expression "*Crowning Mercy*" Cromwell probably meant that it was the last battle; that the greatest efforts of the Royalists had been made, and were exhausted; and that the arms of the Parliament were now crowned with a permanent success. But the victory was a "*Crowning Mercy*" to himself, in a sense of which he had hardly at this time any clear conception, for it soon raised him, under the name of PROTECTOR, to the authority and power of KING.

V. In reviewing the battle of Worcester it may not be too much to say that a considerable part of its success was due to the forethought of *the General at Sea*. The suggestion and supply of the fleet of boats, and the rapid construction of the bridges, by which a communication was effected between the two parts of the army upon the right and left banks of the Severn, were probably the result of having a Naval Commander, with all the resources of his scientific profession, in the field. For General Deane, we are told, not only superintended the repair of the old bridge which had been broken down by Massey, but “worked at it with his own hands all night.” To the forethought of Richard Deane, the Seaman, Cromwell had been already indebted for cutting off the Scotch Army from their supplies and base of operations; and the same officer, with the same means, enabled him to transport his army across the Firth of Forth in pursuit of his enemies, and to turn them aside from London and bring them to bay at Worcester. Great events have often depended upon simple circumstances. Thus the twenty-seven flat-bottomed boats “brought by General Deane to Leith” directly ministered to the success at Worcester, whose fall was mainly attributable to the two bridges of boats built by General Deane over the Severn and Teme.

That the services of Richard Deane at Worcester were of the highest importance may be inferred from his immediate promotion, in conjunction with

land
Lambert, to the civil and military government of Scotland, now prostrate at the feet of the conqueror of Dunbar and Worcester; and his appointment, on the retirement of Lambert, to the supreme command of that kingdom, both by land and sea. For the "General at Sea" still retained his share of the triumvirate of the English seas, while he exercised the office of General in Chief of all the English forces employed in Scotland, and of President of the Council of Government in all cases, civil and ecclesiastical, in that hitherto distracted kingdom.

Fleetwood also, shortly afterwards, was married to Cromwell's daughter, and made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; and Colonels Pride and Goffe were, ever after their services at Worcester, among the chief favourites of the Lord General. Thus showing clearly the high value set by Cromwell upon all the principal officers to whom he was indebted for the CROWNING MERCY.

It has been remarked of Oliver Cromwell that he always knew where to find the right man, and to put him, at the right time, in his right place. He had studied man in all his moods, and was rarely, if ever, mistaken in his man. His choice of RICHARD DEANE, a subaltern of artillery, to be Comptroller of the Ordnance in the New Model, would seem to have been a sufficiently rash experiment; but it was justified by its results in that excellence of the Parliamentarian Artillery, to which all the historians of the Civil War bear witness. The promotion

of this artillery officer, however excellent he might be in a field of battle on shore, to the supreme command of the Fleet at sea, seemed a still more dangerous experiment — for the loss of a naval battle, through the ignorance or want of judgment of the Admiral, might be fatal to the fortunes of the confiding Government; yet Oliver Cromwell braved this danger in the selection of Popham, Blake, and *Deane*, three Colonels of his army; and never has the flag of England been more gloriously borne than at the mainmasts of these military Admirals! But one step more was wanting to justify the conviction of Cromwell, that a *good General*, and a *good Admiral* combined, was the most hopeful material for a good civil Governor, to whom common sense, firmness, and a habit of authority are indispensable. And all these qualifications he found in Admiral-General RICHARD DEANE.

VI. For some time after the battle of Worcester, the great object of the Lord General was to capture the fugitive King, in which pursuit he was fortunately unsuccessful. For, had he taken him, he would have had to deliver him up to the Parliament, who would not have known what to do with him.

All hope of capturing the King being gone, Cromwell went up to London upon the old question which had already, more than once, exercised and baffled inquiry, viz. *The Settlement of the future Government of the Kingdom*. A conference of

“Grandees,” as they were popularly called, was held at the house of the Speaker, but to no purpose. For while some (the lawyers) were for a Constitutional Monarchy, of King, Lords, and Commons; others advocated a Democratic Republic, and others a Republic “with something of Monarchical power.”

“Generally,” says Whitelocke, “the soldiers were against any thing of a monarchy, though everyone of them was a monarch in his own regiment.”

“A Republic, *with something of a Monarchical power,*” was the opinion of Oliver Cromwell—with himself as the irresponsible President? But the fruits of Worcester were not yet ripe enough to be plucked by him. Troubles in the North were apprehended before the nation could settle down in peace, and the promoter of that peace be exalted to his “Throne of Righteousness.”

SCOTLAND, under the vicarious rule of Lieutenant-General Monk, was in a very critical state; and matters not so pleasant as they might be across the Channel, where the Royal family had taken refuge. France was unfriendly, and Holland hostile. The Old Republic was jealous of the New, and openly sympathised with the Stuarts. It was but a question of time—and that a very short time—when these jealousies and sympathies might break out into war; and for this probability it behoved England to be prepared.

The proceedings of Monk in Scotland were very vexatious to Cromwell, who desired, above all things, to soothe the wounded spirits of that brave

and irritable nation, and not to goad their "*perfer-vidum ingenium*" into a dangerous despair. The conduct of Monk was calculated to defeat all his hopes. Under the idea of wholesome vigour, he exercised such severity, that the most timid of the people were ready to rush to arms, convinced that it was better to die in the field than to be slaughtered in their beds. For, in imitation of Cromwell's policy at Drogheda, Monk had put to the sword the greater part of the garrison of Dundee, and many also of the unarmed citizens, when he carried that city by storm; and a bitter feeling of revenge had been generated in the country, which waited only for a favourable opportunity to declare itself. Such an opportunity might be afforded by a Dutch war. This Cromwell knew, and wisely wished to obviate; and, as there was no hope of reducing Scotland to tranquillity while Monk remained in the chief military command of it, Cromwell resolved to "relieve" Monk of his responsibility.

The method which occurred to that sagacious director of events as best calculated to effect his object, without giving offence to Monk or his army, was to frame a mixed commission of officers of the army and civilians, of whom the superseded general should be one, to inquire into the grievances and regulate the administration of Scotland, so as to bring it into better harmony with that of England.

The commission consisted of eight persons, five military and three civil—with Major-General Lam-

bert at its head, and Major-General *Deane* as his second. The other commissioners were, Lieutenant-General Monk, Colonel Fenwick, and Major Sallo-way; Lord St. John, Sir Henry Vane, and Alderman Pickbourne of London. Monk was thus, virtually, deposed from his despotism, retaining only the command of the Army in the North, Lambert being the Commander-in-Chief of all the forces in Scotland.

The instructions of these Commissioners were forbidden by Parliament to be entered in their journals, and only one copy* was to be engrossed for the use of the Council of State.

This remarkable precaution intimates the delicacy and dangers of the experiment. Lambert opened the Commission at Edinburgh, December 6, 1651. But this was his first and almost last act of authority as Chief Commissioner, for intelligence arrived shortly afterwards of the death of Ireton in Ireland, on the 26th November, and Lambert was appointed his successor in the Lord-Lieutenancy of that kingdom, and the Presidency of the Commission of Scotland, together with the Command-in-Chief of the Army, devolved upon RICHARD DEANE.

The necessity for the total removal of Monk, now that a junior general had passed over his head, was so evident, that Cromwell discovered that a change of climate was necessary to the restoration of his health, impaired by too long service in the extreme North; and Monk, accordingly, was advised by his

* Parliament. Hist. p. 1577.

physicians to “*try the Bath waters,*” and, with his usual prudence, wherever his own self-interest was concerned, accepted the hint, and gave up his command to DEANE, who thus became not only the Chief Commissioner, but also the chief military and naval commander of all Scotland—an amount of power which had never before, and has never since, been conferred by Parliament upon any single man in these kingdoms. It was an appointment exceeding in power, if not in rank, the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, for it was the command of Scotland, both land and sea. Nothing could more clearly show the high value set by Cromwell on the capacity and fidelity of RICHARD DEANE.

The “ill health” of Monk is admitted by Godwin * to have been a mere excuse to get him out of the way; for, as Godwin says, “he was incompetent to the duties of the civil Government.” The prudent patience with which Monk submitted to his temporary exclusion from power was afterwards rewarded by his promotion, upon the death of Popham, to be one of the Generals at Sea, in conjunction with BLAKE and DEANE.

“Monk,” says Godwin, † “who, when Cromwell marched from Scotland in pursuit of the invading army (of Leslie and Charles the Second), had been left by him in charge to complete the reduction of that country, was not, now that hostilities were over in England, thought sufficient for settling of affairs

* Hist. of the Commonwealth, vol. iii. p. 319.

† Ibid. 319, 566.

in the North. He bore the style of 'Lieutenant-General of Ordnance.' Major-Generals Lambert and Deane, two of the Commissioners for settling the affairs of Scotland," were sent to exercise a higher authority. The purpose of sending these two officers was to receive submission, to grant terms, to quiet the minds of the people. We are told that they and the officers who accompanied them heard controversies between party and party, and that the litigants were greatly satisfied at the full examination that was made, and the speedy decisions that were pronounced."

The first act of Lambert and Deane was to undo some of the mischief that Monk had done. "Lambert and Deane," we read in the Memorials of Whitelocke, "made a progress through the west of Scotland, and returned about the end of December, having given great contentment in settling business there, and taking off free quarters." This was quite in accordance with Deane's sentiments, as expressed in "The Remonstrance of his Regiment," in 1648, when, among other grievances to be redressed, that of "*free quarters*" is noticed as especially galling to the people.

VII. The appointment of Lambert, in the first instance, to the government of Scotland, and afterwards to that of Ireland, was made by the influence of Cromwell, who is said to have entertained a jealous suspicion of his intriguing character, and was anxious to remove him as far as possible from

London. For, although Lambert was a weak and vain man, he was ambitious and plausible, and had many friends in Parliament.

Cromwell suspected that Lambert was endeavouring to supplant him in the favour of the ruling powers, and, therefore, was glad of any opportunity of recommending him for promotion, provided that the promotion removed him to a distance from the centre of political intrigue.

The sagacity of the Lord-General also told him that this was the surest way of convincing the Parliament that their ambitious favourite was unworthy of their consideration. For he knew, by intuition and experience, that the possession and exercise of power would make Lambert ridiculous. He, therefore, contrived that he should be at the head of the Commission for the Settlement of Scotland, taking care to counteract any real mischief that his vanity might do there, by giving him *Richard Deane* as his military second, and *St. John* and *Vane* as his colleagues in the Council. The straightforwardness and judicious vigour of the soldier, supported by the legal knowledge and political craft of the two civilians, would, he thought, prevent any permanent injury from the vanity of the President, at the same time that his helplessness as the Chief Commissioner would become manifest, through the secondary part which he would be found to have played in all business of importance. Before this experiment had been fully tried, the death of *Ireton* afforded an opportunity of sending him still further

off; and Lambert, to his own vainglorious delight, was named "Lord-Deputy of Ireland." The absurd conduct of the new Lord-Deputy almost immediately proved the shrewdness of Cromwell's calculations. He was elated beyond measure at the appointment, and nothing short of regal magnificence was sufficient for his pride and vanity. Only one man could have made himself more ridiculous under the circumstances, and that was Harrison; for whom, however, a diseased mind, bordering upon insanity, would have been at once an explanation and an excuse. But Lambert was without this excuse, unless excessive vanity and inordinate ambition be proofs of an unsound mind, as they often are its attendants.

The account, by Mrs. Hutchinson, of Lambert's conduct upon this occasion, is very amusing. These personal anecdotes, when authentic, are extremely valuable as keys to political events, which might, otherwise, be unintelligible, for public documents are generally very inadequate exponents of the real characters and motives of men. A collection of memoirs of the individuals by, or through, or over, whom Oliver Cromwell rose to supreme authority, would throw great light on the agencies which he employed, and the obstacles which he so skilfully overcame. For a successful usurper, like Cromwell or Buonaparte, works no less effectually through the weakness of his rivals than by the wisdom or vigour of his own mind, and the practical virtues of his supporters. The genius and craft of Oliver

Cromwell might have been of little avail but for the noble modesty of Fairfax, the insane fanaticism of Harrison, and the ridiculous vanity of Lambert. Accidents conspired to smooth the way for his ambition, but similar accidents might have happened to thousands without being of the least use to them. It was the faculty of turning everything and every man to his own account that constituted what has been called "Cromwell's LUCK." A "lucky" man is generally he who makes the best use of his opportunities.

"After the death of Ireton," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "Lambert was voted Deputy of Ireland and Commander-in-Chief there, who, being at that time in the North, was exceedingly elevated with the honour, and courted all Fairfax's old commanders and other gentlemen, who, upon promises of preferment quitted their places and came to London and made him up there a very proud train, which still more exalted him, so that too soon he put on 'the Prince,' immediately laying out £5,000 for his own particular equipage, and looking upon all the Parliament men, who had conferred this honour upon him, as underlings, and scarcely worth such a great man's nod. This untimely declaration of his pride gave a great offence to the Parliament, who, having only given him a Commission of six months for his Deputyship, made a vote that, after the expiration of that time, the Presidency of the civil and military power of that nation should no more be in his, nor in any one man's, hands again. *This vote was upon Cromwell's procurement*, who designed to make way for his new son-in-law, Colonel Fleetwood, who had married the widow of Ireton, the late Deputy. . . . Cromwell's plot took as well as he himself could wish; for Lambert, who saw himself thus cut off from half his exaltation, sent the House an insolent message, that, 'if they found him so unworthy of

the honour they had given him, as so soon to repent it, he would not retard their remedy for six months, but was ready to surrender their Commission before he entered into his office.' They took him at his word, and made Fleetwood Deputy, and Ludlow Commander of the Horse; whereupon Lambert, with a heart full of spite, malice, and revenge, retreated to his palace at Wimbledon, and sat there watching an opportunity to destroy the Parliament."*

The continuation of this story is equally amusing and worthy of attention. It shows how thoroughly Cromwell understood the character of his would-be rival, and how skilfully he worked upon him, and with him, to overthrow the Parliament which stood in the way of his own aggrandisement.

Very different was his conduct to Richard Deane, who had no personal foibles, and no ambition but to promote his country's welfare, and be deserving of his country; and if in his estimate of England's wants he reckoned the elevation of his friend and patron to supreme authority, it showed that he was the friend of order, and conscious that nothing but disorder would continue if public matters were not taken in hand by the only man in the kingdom capable of "settling it."

It is somewhat singular that Mrs. Hutchinson makes no mention of either *Blake* or *Deane* in her memoirs of her husband. She had probably never come across either of them; but she certainly must have known the names at least of those "Cromwell's Colonels" whom she calls "his associates in

* Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson, pp. 360, 361.

the Army, who were carrying on their designs of private ambition." In her eyes they were "Cromwell's creatures," with whom her husband disdained to act, in their apparent object—the elevation of Cromwell to supreme power. We may respect her Republican prejudices, but should have been better pleased with less reticence, for she might have told us many things of historical value in individual characters and actions, which we should have been delighted to know on such indisputable authority.

CHAPTER XVI.

GREAT CHANGES IN SCOTLAND THROUGH THE JUDICIOUS ENERGY OF THE ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS.—SUPPRESSION OF TRIALS FOR WITCHCRAFT.—THE SIEGE OF DUNNOTTAR CASTLE.—THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE REGALIA OF SCOTLAND.—DEFENCE OF GENERAL DEANE AGAINST THE CHARGE OF CRUELTY FOR THE SECRETERS OF THE REGALIA.—GENERAL DEANE'S CAMPAIGN IN THE HIGHLANDS.—THE PACIFICATION OF SCOTLAND.

I. Great changes in the administration of Scottish affairs followed close upon the arrival of the English Commissioners. The tyranny of the Presbyterian Church was restrained; the laws of the land were better administered; and equal justice was dealt out to high and low, rich and poor. Sir Walter Scott admits that the four English judges and three Scottish appointed by the Commissioners “distributed justice with an impartiality to which the Scottish nation had been entirely a stranger, and which ceased to be experienced from the native judges after the Restoration.” The peculiar rectitude of the men employed by Cromwell being pointed out to a learned judge in the beginning of the next century, his lordship composedly answered, ‘Devil thank them for their impartiality; a pack of kinless loons—for my part I can never see a cousin, or a friend, in the wrong.’”*

* *Tales of a Grandfather*, iii. 122.

One of the first abuses to the correction of which the attention of the Commissioners was turned was the cruel exercise of what the Kirk of Scotland called "justice." This was the apprehension, trial, and inevitable punishment *by death*, of miserable old men and women on the charges of "SORCERY" and "WITCHCRAFT."

The extent to which these cruelties was carried would be incredible were it not placed beyond question by contemporary chronicles. "*The Chronicle of Fife*" of 1650-3 is full of these persecutions, without entertaining apparently any doubt of the reality of the crimes charged, or any horror of the atrocities judicially perpetrated upon the victims.

1649.—"This summer there were many witches taken and burnt in several parts of the kingdom, as in Lothian and Fife."

1650, July 7.—"A general fast was appointed by the General Assembly. 'The maine causes were the threatening of the Sectarian Armies of England to invade the kingdom, and *the abounding of sorcerie.*'"

Sir James Balfour* testifies to the great prevalence of witchcraft in this year in the shires of Fife, Perth, Stirling, Linlithgow, Edinburgh, Haddington, the Merse, and Peebles. On the 20th of July he saw commissions issued "for trying *and burning* twenty-seven witches, women; and three men and boys." "Likewise divers commissions were issued by the Lords of Council, in November and December of this year, for trying *and burning* of witches;

* Annals, iii. 437.

their depositions were read, amongst the which was one that confessed that she had been of late at a meeting with the devil, at which there were above five hundred witches present." "So far," remarks Sir John Balfour, with pious simplicity, "had that wicked enemy of mankind prevailed by his illusions and practices over these poor, wretched, miserable souls."

The arrival of the English Commissioners at Dalkeith Palace would have been celebrated by "these poor, wretched, miserable souls" with a much more joyous meeting than any they had ever had with "the enemy of mankind" had they but known of its consequence to their security. For the first act of the Commissioners was to rescind all judicial appointments "made in the name of Charles Stuart," and to proclaim new judicatures and courts of justice in which the law, according to the principles of English justice, should be administered "without fear or favour."

The new courts of judicature being established, the judges went their circuits and, as might have been expected, were presented with innumerable accusations and indictments of all sorts of moral crimes and offences, prominent among which were the stereotyped charges of sorcery and witchcraft, which Heath calls "the ordinary and most frequent crime of the nation;" but he adds, with the candour of an Englishman, "such was the Kirk's cruel usage of these sorcerers, and upon such weak conviction, that . . . the judges, finding there was sometimes"

—(he might have said *always*)—“more devilish malice in the accusers than the accused, superseded that numerous condemnation of them as formerly.”*

The “Chronicle of Fife” of September, 1652, informs us “that there was a general jury of *English* at Stirling who cited before them witches, &c. As for the witches they had liberty to go home again upon caution till April, 1653 ;” a lenity upon which the editor makes no remark, and this want of approbation would seem to indicate that he looked upon this proceeding of an *English* jury as a proof that “the glory had departed from Israel.”

Of the sitting of the court at Edinburgh, in October, 1652, we have these notices in a letter dated Leith, † October 23.

“On Wednesday last the English Commissioners for the administration of justice sat upon criminal matters at Edinburgh. Those convicted of adultery, &c., were only fined ; ‡ but that which is most observable is, that some were brought before them for witches, two whereof had been brought before the Kirk about the time of the armies coming into Scotland, and, having confessed, were turned over to the civil magistrate. The court demanding how they came to be proved witches, they declared that they were forced to confession by the exceeding tortures they were put to, which was by tying their thumbs behind them, and then, hanging them up by them, two Highlanders whipped them. After which they set lighted candles to the soles of their feet, and between their toes ; then burned them on the head. There were six of them accused in all, *four whereof died of the tortures.*” “The judges,” continues the writer, “are resolved to inquire into the business, and have appointed the sheriffs, ministers, and

* Chronicle, 320.

† King’s Pamphlets, B. M.

‡ The Kirk would have put them to death.

tormentors to be found out, and to have account of their cruelty."

"Another woman that was suspected, according to their thought, to be a witch, was 28 days and nights with bread and water, being stript stark naked, and laid upon cold stone with only a linen cloth over her. Others had hair shirts dipped in vinegar put on them to fetch off the skin. It is probable there will be more discoveries shortly of this Amboyna kind of use, but here is enough for reasonable men to lament upon."

The determination of the Commissioners to put an end to these barbarities was so effectually carried out, that after this there was no case of *condemnation* for witchcraft until February 6, 1656, three years after the death of General Deane. And there were not even any *trials* for this "crime" until after he had given up his government in 1653, when, under the feeble rule of his successor, Major-General Lilburne, the Kirk partially recovered courage, and instituted proceedings against sorcerers and witches, but without success, until 1656.

The Kirk, as might have been expected, was vehemently but impotently indignant at the proceedings of General Deane and his colleagues—"English Infidels" as they were called. "The Presbytery," says a letter, dated Edinburgh, March 7, 1652, "are still very high in their pulpits against the Parliament and Army, telling the people that they are *sectarians, hereticks, &c.*, and that they are about to tolerate all manner of blasphemous wickedness."

The Commissioners only smiled at these ravings,

and the declaimers against English tyranny and infidelity became gradually insignificant for want of the persecution which they coveted. In this the Commissioners followed the example of Cromwell, of whom it is related that after the battle of Dunbar he attended service in the principal church of Glasgow, when the preacher improved the opportunity by abusing all Independents, &c., and among them Cromwell himself. One of his officers offering to pull the preacher out of his pulpit by the ears, the Lord General replied, "Sit still, leave him alone. He is one fool, and you are another."*

II. But the English common soldiers were not so tolerant as their superiors. The privates of *Deane's* regiment † carried their abhorrence of the severity of the Kirk so far as to remove the "*Stools of Repentance*" out of some churches, and in others to sit upon them during divine service, to bring them into contempt, in which they for a time succeeded. These "*Stools of Repentance*," like the English stocks, were to be found in every village, and were used for the correction of morals by a public punishment of vice; but unlike the stocks, which were always in the open air upon the village green, the stools of repentance were placed in some conspicuous part of the church, and the sitters thereon exposed not only to the eyes of the congregation, but also to the public reproofs and admonitions of the ministers.

* Tales of a Grandfather, iii. 99.

† Chron. of Fife.

The ordinary cases to which these implements of spiritual police were put tended not a little to excite the risibility of the English soldiers. In England the stocks were usually tenanted by drunken and refractory men, who were constrained by the confinement of their legs by day to repent of the too free use of their fists in the alehouse over night. In Scotland the stools of repentance were dedicated to the correction of the more delicate or indelicate transgressions of youth. This, in a simple state of society, might be effectual to the repression of vice through fear of public exposure. And had the Kirk been satisfied with thus punishing the graver moral offences of her erring children, even the English soldier, impatient as he was of all ecclesiastical authority, might have respected the stool of repentance as a reasonable instrument of punishment; but the severity of the Kirk increased with the refinements of the age, and what in a grosser state of society was regarded as a mere indecorum, became in the eyes of the austere kirksmen of the seventeenth century a deadly sin. Offences of "impropriety" were multiplied, while the instrument of punishment remained the same. The Kirk had but one method of publicly showing her abhorrence of the sins of the flesh; and the giddy boy who ventured to snatch a kiss from a merry girl in open day was thought as fit a subject for the stool of repentance as the most profligate libertine. This, in the eyes of the English soldier, was too absurd, and he omitted no opportunity of

bringing the unreasonable custom into contempt. He looked upon it as "an abridgment of that Christian liberty" which he enjoyed in his own country, and was determined that his fellow Christians of Scotland should be delivered from this worse than Egyptian bondage, a Levitical ordinance not to be found in Scripture. Hence there was a constant running fight between the soldiers in country quarters and the ministers of the parish churches which they frequented—the former looking upon that hallowed bench as an "abomination of desolation," which the latter regarded as "Corban." The stool, if moveable, was carried off, or, if fixed, desecrated, and the enormities of the "Blasphemers" formed the burden of many a complaint at head-quarters, where they were received or laughed at according as the commanding officer happened to be a Presbyterian or Independent.

The soldiers of General Deane's regiment were notorious for these outrages, probably because they had imbibed a portion of their colonel's liberality of opinion, and detested every kind of arbitrary and irrational oppression.

Occasionally, however, they carried this "Christian liberty" further than the rules of any church even much more tolerant than that of Scotland would have permitted. An instance of this is recorded in "The Chronicle of Fife," under the date July 28, 1652:—

"Some of Major-General Deane's regiment of foot who

lay at Largs and Levin, viz. two corporals, did challenge Mr. James McGill of Largs (after he had ended his sermon and said the blessing) before he came forth of the pulpit, for praying for the prisoners in England, and saying that 'they did suffer for righteousness sake,' they (the corporals) affirming that they suffered for *unrighteousness*. But after some words passed between them, he answered that he would be forthcoming for what he had spoken before a competent judge, and in time and place convenient, for he did not acknowledge them, and left off."

The feeling between the English soldiers and the Scotch clergy had never been friendly, and they were now still further estranged from each other by a regulation which the impartial justice of General Deane compelled him to enforce. The ministers of the Kirk had been hitherto exempted from having soldiers quartered upon them, but this privilege was enjoyed at the expense of the farmers, who were, generally, much less able to bear the cost. In the golden days of the Solemn League and Covenant, when every Presbyter was a little bishop in his own parish, the native generals would never have dared to commit such a sacrilegious act as to quarter a soldier on the manse. But the independent English General took a different view of ministerial duties and obligations. Soldiers were quartered, fairly, on layman and ecclesiastic, according to their means of maintaining them. Every householder was bound to receive a soldier or two, and give them shelter and food, upon payment of reasonable charges. The two corporals of Largs presumed, perhaps, too much upon their

familiarity with their host Mr. McGill, upon whom they were quartered.* Others, it is to be hoped, were more respectful to the ministers, or other ministers more prudent, for many soldiers were similarly lodged. Mr. Moncrieff, of Scone, had soldiers in his manse.* The chronicler from whom we have this information adds—"This was the first time that ministers quartered either horse or foot." But he does not make any remark as to the cause, necessity, or justice of this regulation, from which we may conclude that he thought the proceedings justified by circumstances.

If this infringement upon an ancient privilege seems to have been a hardship, unfeelingly inflicted by the strong upon the weak, we must bear in mind the part which the ministers of the Kirk had taken in the conflict between the two nations. They are expressly charged by their own countrymen with undue interference in military matters, and driving the fanatical troops into fatal action, contrary to the opinion of their commanders, and of thus being the cause of much unnecessary bloodshed. If such was the charge brought against them by their friends, in what light must they have appeared in the eyes of their enemies?—as aggravators, doubtless, of the miseries of war by standing between the clemency of the victor and the hope of the vanquished, and urging on the destruction of the helpless "Heretic." No wonder, then, that a victorious English General should have little or no sympathy

* See Chronicle of Fife.

with those whom he could not but regard as “firebrands,” and “enemies of peace;” or that he should deem it not only no punishment, but rather equal justice, to subject both Layman and Ecclesiastic to the same common fortunes of war—which, in this case, amounted to no worse than having one or two non-commissioned officers quartered in the manse, while the rest of the soldiers were billeted in the village; and none of them at *free* quarters; to which, we have already remarked that no Parliamentarian General was more conscientiously opposed than Richard Deane.

The personal appearance and character of General Deane were in harmony. He was a man of stern aspect and determined resolution. So much we gather from his panegyrists and his portraits. But there was nothing in his conduct, in military life, which betokened a cruel or persecuting disposition. If we except his sitting in judgment upon the King, and signing his Death-Warrant—to which principle, and not ferocity, may have urged him—there is nothing recorded or proved, or even reasonably surmised, which can in any degree derogate from his reputation of a Christian soldier. He seems to have been just such an officer as a judicious Lord-General like Cromwell would have set over a high-spirited people like the Scots. He had neither the vain weaknesses of Lambert, nor the sullen ferociousness of Monk, so as to expose him to either ridicule or hatred. He was, moreover, a man of few words and decisive speech, and therefore un-

likely to incur the contempt of those over whom he ruled, by "speaking unadvisedly with his lips," a fault into which many, otherwise able, men fall, from over-confidence in their gift of words. For if "cunning be not wisdom," talking may often be anything but eloquence. He speaks best who speaks most to the point. Such a speaker was Richard Deane.

The best proof of his judicious vigour was the tranquillity in which he left both Highlands and Lowlands, when called upon by his country to resign his command in Scotland, and resume his Generalship of the Fleet in the Dutch War. For this effectual "PACIFICATION" he received the Thanks of the Parliament; and that he did not thereby lose the goodwill of the Scottish Nation, may be inferred from the manner in which the Edinburgh newspapers record his movements and actions, both while he was in the country and after he had left it; denoting an interest in the man, such as would hardly have been taken in him, had the popular feeling been adverse to his administration.

III. Soon after his assumption of the chief command in Scotland, General Deane began a tour of inspection, for military purposes. The contemporary journals record his proceedings:—

Edinburgh, March 9, 165½, Major-General Deane is gone northwards, and is expected about a week hence. I hear, before his return, he will treat at

an appointed place with Argyle. The Commissioners, not being a *quorum* until the Major-General returns, do little of concernment. The country people labour their grounds in all places, so as there is good hope this year may produce much corn; and the next year, it is hoped, if the Lord continue peace, all the parts will be stocked as formerly.

Dalkeith, March 13, 165½. Major-General Deane returned from Dundee and St. Johnstone. Monday they set forward for Dumbarton—viz. Major-General Deane and Major Salwey, as joint Commissioners, to treat with Argyle.

General Deane had been to Dundee to choose a site for the building of a citadel to contain 500 men; and marked out eighty-four perches square for the purpose. Heath* remarks, upon the projected conference with Argyle, that it took place at Dumbarton Castle, about the 20th of March; and that Major Salwey had been joined in commission with the Major-General, "because Deane was not *Mercurial* enough to word it with the Scot." Mercury, the god of eloquence, had not been propitious to the man of action; nevertheless, we shall presently see an occasion upon which his words, however inelegant, were not without force.

The Marquis of Argyle was one of the most cunning politicians of the day, and it was another instance of the sagacity of Cromwell that, in a matter of such importance, he did not send the acute St. John or the crafty Sir Henry Vane, to

* See p. 310.

“*word it with the Scot,*” but rather the plain-spoken, straightforward soldier Richard Deane, assisted by a more mercurial major, who might put the words of Deane into the conventional language of diplomacy. The Marquis was, by these means, left in the enjoyment of his own confidence and less upon his guard than he would have been had he been forced to an encounter of wits with St. John or Vane; and the result was a less disadvantageous peace with the Highlanders, and with less of delay than when civilians are engaged in *protocoling* one another, not so much for the advantage of their respective countries as for the display of their own talents and gifts.

This treaty was too conclusive and effectual to please all parties. The Royalists had the least reason to be satisfied with it, for it struck at the root of their hopes of an insurrection in the Highlands. We are not surprised, therefore, to find them endeavouring to cast ridicule upon the inexperienced negociators—*e.g.* “Argyle came with thirty of his Clan. . . . After two or three days, the Sophies parted, having entertained their time with some godly descants upon Providence, the Parliament’s supreme authority, and his Highland Mightiness.”

But the treaty was of the utmost importance, and as such is noticed in the London Journals. “The Weekly Intelligencer” dwells upon it with great satisfaction: “It is certified, from Scotland, that there hath been a treaty at last with the

Marquis of Argyle, at Dumbarton. There were two meetings, the one at the English quarters, the other at his own. There were none present at it but Major-General Deane and Major Salwey, and the Marquis and one Mr. Campbell his kinsman. Among these four the treaty has been carried on with so much privacy that it is not yet known to any but the Council of State, but it is believed that it is attended with a good event, in regard that at the departure there were, on both sides, such reciprocal expressions of respect and love. The people in Scotland were generally coming in before. I have been this morning advertized that, *something* being confirmed, the Marquis will, undoubtedly, submit and comply with England."

This "something" was probably the question of the Kirk and its continued establishment. For General Deane, in his Report to Parliament, dated March 17, says, "he was in treaty with the Marquis of Argyle for the settlement of the country, especially the Highlands, and that the Marquis insisted much for the interest of the Kirk."*

This "Intelligence from Scotland" is confirmed by a letter from Berwick, dated March 21: "Major Salwey is returned from the treaty with Argyle. The Commissioners wait for further instructions from Parliament, but Major-General Deane is yet abroad about businesses. The issue of the meeting is yet secret."

The Parliament were so well satisfied with Gene-

* Whitlocke.

ral Deane's Report of his negotiations, that they sent him "*The Thanks of the House*" for his services. "May 14, 1652: The Thanks of the House were voted to Major-General Deane for his services in Scotland; and the Speaker is ordered to sign the letter conveying them to him."*

Although the Highlanders were not yet entirely subdued, yet this treaty deprived them of the open aid and countenance of Argyle, without which they could not long continue in hostility to the ruling powers. But General Deane had amply deserved the Thanks of the Parliament for another important "pacification"—he had "pacified" the Lowlands, had reconciled Edinburgh, Glasgow, and all the chief towns of Scotland to English Government, and that without unnecessary severity or bloodshed. A few places only still held out in remote districts, and these were soon afterwards reduced, without recourse to that indiscriminate slaughter which would have been their fate had Monk remained in command of the Army of the North.

On his return from the conference with Argyle the General caused Blackness Castle to be "slighted," that is, destroyed, "and, passing by Newark House, came to Ayre, where he laid the platform of a citadel, the place being convenient for trade † either with France or Ireland, being opposite to the most westward part of Scotland."

The Diurnal of April 6 tells us, "General Deane's troops have made themselves masters of the Castle

* See Journal of the House of Commons.

† Heath, 310.

of Braddock, in the Isle of Arran, lately the residence of the Duke of Hamilton, and of the Castle and Island of Basse." The capture of this last-mentioned place was difficult and of the greatest importance, for with guns of long range it could seriously impede the navigation of the Forth, whose estuary it commanded.

"The Basse Rock" is about three-quarters of a mile in circumference, rising abruptly out of the sea to the height of 420 feet. It is situated three miles east of the Royal Burgh of North Berwick, and two miles from the mainland. It is accessible only at one flat shelving point, which forms the south-eastern termination of the island, where there are two landing-places. But in the seventeenth century there was only one landing-place, and that artificially cut out of the rock, immediately under a scarped platform, to which a flight of steep and slippery steps led, under a fortified gateway. On this platform guns were planted, commanding every approach, so that all access to "The Rock" was extremely difficult, if not impossible, until the guns had been silenced by the fire of men-of-war. The command of the sea enabled General Deane to take the Bass Rock—and it was an important conquest.

IV. General Deane's progress had been hitherto comparatively easy and rapid. All the strongholds which he summoned had been surrendered to him,

with little loss of life ; one place, however, remained to be “taken in,” and this was the most valuable and most coveted of all. *Dunnottar Castle* still held out, and with good reason, for it contained no less sacred a trust than THE REGALIA OF SCOTLAND. The capture of this castle and the treatment of its brave Lieutenant-Governor, Ogilvie, form an interesting and important episode in the personal history of RICHARD DEANE.

The subject is thus introduced to us by one of the Edinburgh Journals :—

“Dundee, May 6. Major-General Deane is coming towards St. John’s Town (Perth) and to Dundee, and then to *Dunnottar Castle*. So that the whole army will very suddenly take the field. Lieutenant-General Monk’s regiment, on Monday, went to *Dunnottar*, to lay siege to it.”

“Edinburgh, May 10. This day Major-General Deane intends, we hear, to go from Leith to *Burntisland*, and so from thence to *Dunnottar Castle*.”

The conduct of the siege was entrusted to Colonel Morgan, who was reputed to be one of the best officers of his rank in the service of the Parliament. He managed the duty so well that, after a cannonade of only two days, the Castle surrendered on terms which were honourable to both parties, had they been faithfully observed. But as neither of them strictly kept to the spirit of these terms, much bad feeling was engendered, and crimination and recrimination were unsparingly interchanged. Colonel Morgan believed that he had been over-

reached by the Governor Ogilvie, and reported him to General Deane as faithless; and General Deane, taking the same view of the matter, placed Ogilvie in confinement in Edinburgh Castle, and left him there, a state prisoner, when he gave up his command, nine months afterwards, on the breaking out of the war with Holland.

General Deane had come before Dunnottar Castle about the middle of May, to see how the siege was going on, but was unexpectedly recalled to Edinburgh. The castle surrendered about ten days after he had gone away; but THE REGALIA were not to be found anywhere when Ogilvie gave up the keys to Colonel Morgan. It was admitted that they were in the castle when the siege commenced; but how they had disappeared, or when, the Governor solemnly declared he did not know! which Colonel Morgan as resolutely maintained was a falsehood. The immediate superior of Morgan was Colonel Overton, who commanded the district; to him Morgan sent the following Report:—

“As concerning that article of *The Crown and Sceptre*, the late governor can give me no other account, for the present, but that his wife hath transported them, without his consent; which is not satisfactory to me, for I judge he hath forfeited his articles if he give not better satisfaction what is become of them. To which intent I have written to the Major-General to know his pleasure, that so the late governor and his wife may both be laid in prison, until they shall give a better account thereof.”

It transpired, upon further inquiry, that Mr. Granger, the minister of Kinneff, and his wife, were also implicated in the abstraction of the Regalia from the castle. They also were sent up to Edinburgh, together with Captain Ogilvie and his wife; and they were all four committed to ward in the castle, by order of General Deane.

The manner in which this removal of the Regalia—*Crown, Sceptre, and Sword*—was effected, is thus related by Sir Walter Scott:—

“ In prosecution of their plan, Mrs. Granger went to the Castle of Dunnottar, having obtained permission from the English general (Colonel Morgan) to visit the governor’s lady. In her charge Mrs. Ogilvy placed the Regalia. This was done without the Lieutenant-Governor’s knowledge, in order that, when obliged to surrender the castle, he might with truth declare he knew nothing of the time and manner of their removal. They were delivered by Mrs. Ogilvy to her intrepid confidante, who concealed the crown in her lap, while the sceptre and sword, wrapt up in *hards*, or bundles of flax, were placed upon the back of a female domestic. Mrs. Granger’s horse had been left in the English camp; for so precipitous is the chasm which divides Dunnottar from the mainland, that the castle gate can neither be approached nor entered by a person on horseback. She returned through the English camp unsuspected, the load of her attendant passing for flax. . . . The English general himself is said to have courteously placed Mrs. Granger in her saddle, little dreaming of the treasure which she had concealed about her person. . . . The regalia were thus transported in safety to the manse of Kinneff, and there placed under the charge of the Rev. James Granger, husband of the dauntless woman who had brought them from Dunnottar at so much personal risk. They were concealed, for a time, in a double-bottomed

bed, until Mr. Granger had a safe opportunity of interring them in the church.”*

This event was a remarkable one in the life of Richard Deane; for, in consequence of the part which his duty compelled him to take towards the “delinquents,” his character has been assailed with much acrimony by Scotch writers, who have not hesitated to charge him with vindictive cruelty towards Mrs. Ogilvie and Mrs. Granger—the latter of whom he is even accused of having put to torture, for the purpose of extracting a confession.

This charge of cruelty has been repeated (hesitatingly indeed) by Sir Walter Scott. He speaks, of it as a “*tradition*,” and “*probably with exaggeration*.” But the bare allusion by such a writer to such a charge, which he takes no pains to investigate, is, in itself, sufficient to impress less inquisitive minds with the conviction that the “*tradition*” may have been founded on *fact*.

In the interest of truth, and for the sake of the memory of a man who, regicide though he was, upon conscientious grounds, was not the wantonly ferocious soldier which such an accusation would denote, I venture to offer some arguments in refutation of the calumny. It is proverbially difficult to prove a *negative*; but, in the absence of direct testimony, it is equally unreasonable to assume a *positive*, when the character of a distinguished officer is impugned, upon “*tradition*,” “*which is, probably, with exaggeration*.”

* Provincial Antiquities. Scott's Prose Works, vol. vii. p. 329.

Sir Walter Scott's account of the treatment of Captain Ogilvie and his wife, and Mrs. Granger, is as follows :—

The Lieutenant-Governor of Dunnottar Castle was directed by the Earl Marshall, the proprietor of the castle, to submit to the Commonwealth, and “ deliver up his house of Dunnottar to Major-General Deane, who was to receive the same from him, in the name of His Excellency the Lord-General Cromwell, for the use of the Commonwealth of England.

Notwithstanding the injunction of the Lord of the castle, and the straits to which the fortress was reduced, the Governor continued to hold out, until General Deane granted him terms so advantageous, that they seem to have been dictated by the General's anxiety to possess himself of the Regalia. One of the leading articles of the capitulation stipulated that “ the crown and sceptre of Scotland, together with all other ensigns of Regalia, should be delivered to the English General, *or a good account given thereof*, for the use of the Parliament.

It was further agreed that, upon the *true performance* of the forementioned articles, Captain George Ogilvie, with the officers and soldiers under his command, should have liberty to march out of the said castle with all the honours of war.

On these honourable conditions, the last Scottish fortress was surrendered to the enemy; but the disappointment of General Deane was extreme upon finding that the Regalia had been removed, but to what place could by no means be discovered. The Republican General wreaked his dissatisfaction upon Governor Ogilvie, whom he held to have violated the meaning of the capitulation. Heavy fines and vigorous imprisonment were resorted to to extort from Ogilvie and his lady the secret committed to their charge; but they remained determined to conceal from the public enemy all information on the subject. The health of Mrs.

Ogilvie sunk under close confinement, but her courage did not give way, and in the spirit of the house of Douglas, to which she belonged, she exhorted her husband with her dying breath to preserve inviolable the secret entrusted to him. The worthy clergyman and his wife did not escape suspicion and close examination. The tradition even bears out, probably with exaggeration, that Mrs. Granger, whose visit to the castle was now remembered, was actually put to the torture. They retained their faith with the same firmness as Mrs. Ogilvie and her husband, nor could anything be extorted from them concerning the fate of the treasure under their charge.*

In another place Sir Walter Scott says:—

As to Mrs. Ogilvie, she died before the Restoration, her health being ruined by the hardships she endured from the Cromwellian satellites Popular tradition says (not very probably) that Granger and his wife were *booted*, that is, tortured with the engine called “*the boots.*”†

Upon the foregoing statements I would remark :

1. That there can be no doubt of the breach of the principal article of the capitulation by the Lieutenant-Governor. He was required, and he engaged, to surrender the *Crown and Sceptre, &c.*, “*or, to give a good account thereof.*” He did neither. He denied being in possession of the Regalia, and declared that he did not know what had become of them, although he knew full well that his wife had been an active agent in their removal. He might not have known that Mrs.

* Provincial Antiquities, vii. 333.

† Lockhart's Life of Scott, v. 282.

Granger had taken them away, but only because he *would not know it*. By the military law of every country, he was subject to the penalties of a breach of faith. He might have been *legally* replaced in the castle, and the castle taken by storm and no quarter given. General Deane might have insisted upon this punishment if he had pleased. Oliver Cromwell and Monk would probably have exacted this retribution; or, if they had been willing to spare the innocent garrison, would have taken the life of the faithless Governor, and confiscated all his property. General *Deane* was satisfied with imprisoning him and his wife, and the inferior agents to the "pious fraud," and referring the ultimate decision to the Parliament, by whom, and not by Deane, the "*heavy fines*" (if any) were imposed.

After all, there is no evidence of excessive severity. The imprisonment of Mrs. Ogilvie may perhaps appear, at first sight, a harsh proceeding; but her company was doubtless a mitigation of the sufferings of her husband, and for aught we know to the contrary might have been a voluntary one. There is no proof that they were confined separately—and we know that her husband, according to the "tradition" itself, had access to her in her illness. Neither is there any record or evidence that her death was caused by the rigour of her confinement; "tradition" may say so, but in the diploma of Baronetcy, granted to Captain Ogilvie after the Restoration, there is no mention whatever of the sufferings of his lady, which there probably would

have been had the "tradition" been founded on fact, for the Royalists of 1660 were never forgetful of anything, however minute, that could strengthen their claims for reward, by placing the conduct of their "persecutors" in the most unfavourable point of view. The diploma speaks indeed, of the "*gravia detrimenta quæ diu pertulit ac subiit;*" but these were suffered by Ogilvie himself, and refer to his fines and imprisonment and the "cruelties" amounted only to *illecebræ et minæ*, enticements and threats which he despised, "*spretis omnibus illecebris et minis, quibus, tunc temporis, obnoxius fuit.*"

It does not appear, then, that General Deane "wreaked his disappointment" upon Ogilvie more severely than was due to his breach of faith. The General, "not being able to word it with the Scot," but being keen enough to distinguish truth from falsehood, was not willing to accept of an equivocation for an explanation. He could not have done less than imprison the deceitful Governor, and that he did not do more is creditable to his humanity.

II. The tradition that Mrs. Granger was "*booted*" rests upon no evidence whatever. As we cannot disprove a non-existent, or a non-apparent, we must conclude with the juriconsults, that "*de non existentibus, et non apparentibus, eadem est ratio*"—viz., that there is no truth in them.

On the other hand, there is the antecedent im-

probability that RICHARD DEANE, the determined enemy of all tortures, who would not suffer even a "witch" to be denounced, much less to be tortured by the ministers of the kirk — although popular superstition was on this side—should be so carried away by political or personal feelings, as to endeavour to extort confession from a lady, by *torture*!

When we consider how deeply rooted the belief in sorcery and witchcraft was at that time, not only in Scotland, but in England also; and not only among the poor and ignorant, but also among the rich and educated members of society, (who all regarded the Mosaic injunction, "*Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live,*" as binding upon their own and the consciences of all Protestants,) we cannot but admire the moral courage of the man who dared to be merciful, when almost all beside were merciless. An Englishman in Scotland, and bound by his very position to conciliate the people by every means in his power, he ran counter to their prejudices in a matter which they looked upon as religious, and defied the superstition of the whole nation, by authoritatively telling them, that not only no "*witch*" would be put to death, but that no confession of witchcraft should be extorted, either by imprisonment, or prison food, or any kind of persecution whatever. "As for *witches*, they had liberty to go home again," is the suggestive remark on the first assize at Stirling, after the English Commissioners had opened their commission; and a few weeks afterwards we read, that when two poor women

were charged, upon their own confession, with being witches, and it was elicited that they had been forced to this confession by inhuman tortures, "the judges were resolved to inquire into the business, and appointed that all SHERIFFS, MINISTERS, and TORTMENTORS be found out, and made to give an account of their cruelty." These judges acted upon the instructions of the Commissioners, of whom Richard Deane was the chief.

We have a right, then, to assume, *a priori*, that, having an abstract abhorrence of cruelty, he was as unlikely to inflict it, as he was ready to punish those who inflicted it, for purposes of confession.

Again, the same Richard Deane was the Commander-in-Chief when the following incident occurred at Edinburgh.

"Edinburgh, October 2, 1652. Here was a mutiny among the soldiers, occasioned by the abatement of twelve pence a-week out of their pay, towards a store (a military savings bank, suggested by their prudent general?). Four of the ringleaders being condemned by a court-martial to be hanged, it was afterwards thought fit that one should die for the rest, and lots be cast between them. The lots fell upon him that most deserved it, who, being prepared, and the time come for the execution, all the women in this town joined together in a petition to save his life, which was accordingly granted by—*Major-General Deane!*"

Was he, then, likely to condemn a *lady*, the wife of a clergyman, to torture, for simply obeying the

dictates of her own loyalty, or the wishes of her husband? It does not require much knowledge of human nature to pronounce the thing *incredible*.*

V. The restlessness of the Highlanders called Major-General Deane away from the leaguer of Dunnottar Castle to Edinburgh to concert measures for the suppression of any possible revolt which might derange the settlement already made between the Marquis of Argyle and himself. He spent the month of June in gaining information, and making preparations for a campaign, hoping to bring matters to a peaceful termination without the necessity of hostilities. But the "*perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*" would not let him enjoy this agreeable hope. The insurrection broke out, and he determined to visit the disturbed districts in person.

Early in July he began his progress, but, know-

* By a singular revolution in the wheel of Fortune, the late keeper of the crown jewels in the Tower of London, Mr. Edmund Lenthall Swifte, is a descendant of Major-General Richard Deane through his only married daughter Hannah, who became the wife of Mr. Goodwin Swifte, Attorney-General for the Palatinate of Tipperary, the eldest son of the Rector of Goodrich, Herefordshire, who figures in the list of Royalist sufferers as one of the most cruelly persecuted of all the victims of the fanaticism of 1644. His sufferings, and those of his family, form an interesting chapter in *Mercurius Rusticus; or, The Country's Complaint*, 1685. The loyalty of the Swiftes, from generation to generation, has been as remarkable as the patriotism of their ancestor Richard Deane, of whose actions, apart from his sitting in judgment upon the King, they are justly proud. Mr. Edmund Lenthall Swifte, the present representative of the family, is in the 92nd year of his age, and in the full vigour of his faculties—an accomplished classical scholar, and a man of marvellous vitality of mind as well as of body. I am proud of the permission of adding his portrait to that of his great ancestor in the present volume.

ing the natural strength of the country, and the character of its inhabitants, advanced cautiously. A letter from a Mr. William Clarke to Speaker Lenthall gives an account of his proceedings:—

July 13, 1652. The Major-General was, four or five days since, in the Vale of Baggon, where, having settled garrisons in the Bray of Mar (Braemar) and Ruthin, leaving Captain Powell's company of Lieutenant-General Monk's late regiment, he went to Lochaber. . . . The Lord Glencastre, and others of the chiefs of the clans, are come in to the Major-General; and *markets settled* in some places, for the bringing in of provisions to our soldiers, *where there never was any market before*. The people, generally, speak Irish (Erse), and go only with plaids about their middles, both men and women. There are scarce any houses of stone, but only of earth and turf.

July 18. Major-General Deane was at Bashenough (Badenoch) with Monk's late, and Fairfax's regiments of foot, and Hacker's regiments of horse, the command of which he left, August 2, to Colonel Morgan.

The chronicler Heath (313) informs us of the prudent measures which the Major-General had previously taken, to prevent the spread of insurrection northwards, in anticipation of events which actually occurred within a few weeks. His prescient sagacity in this respect was in accord with his forethought in establishing markets, "where markets had never been before."

"The garrison of Dunnottar being yielded on soldierlike honourable articles, Colonel Fitch's regiment was sent to Inverness, *where a little frigate*

of four guns was brought down by strength of men to the loch (whence the Highlanders passed to and fro), to secure and provide for the garrison, and hinder the intercourse of the Scots." "A citadel was likewise designed here, and another at Ayre, by Major-General Deane, consisting of six bulwarks, which being to be raised upon sand, it was ordered that, within and without, it should be lined with lime; and these two fortifications, with two more, one at Leith, and one at St. John's Town, being all built with freestone, because the most artful and impregnable places, and a bridle to any Scotch insurrections, or national design of liberty."

Here we have another instance of the value of an *Admiral-General*. The same mind that conceived the advantage of flat-bottomed boats for the transport of troops across the Friths of Scotland, and carried them, for pontoons, from Edinburgh to Worcester, and bridged over the Severn and the Teme, with two bridges of boats in half-an-hour, now conceived the novel and effectual scheme of conveying a frigate of four guns, by human labour, across the land, and launching her into the loch above Inverness, to be a terror to the enemy north of this way of waters, as well as to prevent their invasion by water of the fertile fields of the south. What had the Lowland generals and engineers been doing for the previous century that they never thought of an expedient so simple and a protection so complete as this little frigate on the Loch of Inverness? This achievement was left for an

English General, who but ten years before, if "tradition" is to be trusted, was a "*Boatswain*" of a man-of-war, and, before that, "*a hoyman's servant on board of an Ipswich hoy!*" The tradition is a myth—the man a reality.

Such was the activity of his comprehensive mind that nothing escaped the penetration or care of Richard Deane which could in any way tend to the security of the State or people. He was but little more than one year in Scotland, and yet he did so much in that short time that he left the country in prosperity* for eight years to come after his departure. Had he governed a few years longer many a loch would have been protected by gunboats, and many a "market" besides that of Lochaber risen upon the frontier of the Highlands, which would have saved the necessity of building inland forts to curb the predatory Highlander; civilization would have been two centuries in advance, and there would have been neither Preston Pans, nor Falkirk, nor the bloody retribution of Culloden.

The timely security of the northern districts enabled the Major-General to turn his attention to the Western Highlands, now agitated by a dubious and dangerous spirit of inquietude; dubious, because it was uncertain whether or not the Royalists were again making head in those almost inaccessible regions; and dangerous, because a successful

* See Bp. Burnet, *infra*.

revolt there might lead to insurrections in other places more populous and less easily kept under.

VI. There are two conflicting accounts of this expedition to the Western Highlands, both of which historical impartiality compels me to introduce. The first shall be the Scotch version given in the Autobiography of R. Blair, published by the Woodrow Society, which has been doing for Scotland what the Camden Society has done for England—rescuing from oblivion obscure tracts or unique manuscripts buried in the limbo of private libraries, and hitherto inaccessible to any creature but the worm and the book-worm, the moth, the spider, and the antiquary.

R. Blair tells us that “In July 1652 General-Major* Deane and Overton marched to the Highlands, with 4,000 horse and foot, to subdue the Highlanders and make them pay cess. They got no resistance until they came to Lochaber, where Mackeldine lay at a pass, with 400 men with bows and snap works.” “The English,” he says, “were repulsed.” Overton was in Argyle’s bounds, who having desired the gentlemen there to take the tender, they, refusing, said “they minded to live peaceably but they would not engage,” whereof Overton was content. But *Deane* coming into the country, being it seems enraged, dealt more briskly with the gentlemen, upbraiding them, and

* “General-Major” is his right designation as Major-General over the whole army of Scotland.

saying, "And so! you that are *Highlanders* stand upon *conscience!* Will you not swallow these pills? We will make you do it." Whereupon the gentlemen convened all they could, and surprised all the English garrisons, and had not Deane and Overton subtly escaped they also had been taken. It was thought that Argyle was very instrumental for their escape, being too bent to comply with the English.

The other account may be called the English one, being drawn up chiefly by their friends the "loyal" Scots. It is very different from the foregoing.

A letter* dated Edinburgh, August 21, says:—

We have heard nothing from the Major-General since he went from Aire, to Argyle and Cantire; but a correspondent in Argyle reports that the Major-General is now about Inverara or Cantire, viewing the several garrisons that Colonel Alured hath sent from his regiment, viz. 135 men to these garrisons.

Dalkeith, Aug. 31. Major-General Deane is now withdrawn with his forces out of the Highlands, and come to this place, having left them in as good a condition as can be expected from a people of such a temper in so short a time. Some of them have given us a taste of their treacherous dispositions by surprising two of our garrisons in Cantire, called Turbet and Loughead.

None of the preceding letters allude to the repulse mentioned by Blair; on the contrary, Whitelocke informs us that "Major-General Deane

* This, and subsequent letters, are taken from a rare copy of the *Mercurius Politicus*, edited by the Spottiswoode Society, in the "Spottiswoode Miscellanies," vol. ii.

writes, September 3, 1652, that he had amicably concluded with the Marquis of Argyle, and that the English troops were returned *without loss* from the Highlands.

A letter of the same date from Edinburgh says—

The Major-General and the English had returned; and in their march from the Highlands about 1,500 were got together at a pass, where they stood upon rocks and inaccessible grounds, and the English could only file over one by one. They pretended to inquire whether the Marquiss of Argyll was prisoner, though they knew he was not. The English advanced, one by one, over the pass, and the Scots stood every way prepared to take their advantage upon them, yet had not the power or the spirit to do it. The English drew up close to the Scots till their rear-guard was passed over and then marched and encamped a mile from them, and heard no more of them till they came to Dumbarton; and then the Major-General came to them, and told them that, their march away, the Scots had surprised two of their garrisons in the Highlands.

The only *fact* then, admitted by both sides, is the surprisal of the two garrisons; one of the forts, according to a diurnal, being taken “when the soldiers were gone a nutting!”

The Highlanders being, subsequently, called to an account for these proceedings, sent a letter to General Deane, excusing their late actions “through mistakes;” and saying that “they would shortly send one of their number to satisfy him.” He answered, that “he would be ready to hear what they had to offer,” requiring them, in the meantime, “to restore all things to their former

order, and to forbear all acts of hostility." The gentlemen of Argyle also sent a letter to the Major-General, promising to send two commissioners fully empowered to give him all the satisfaction he required."*

That the force with which Major-General Deane invaded Argyle's country was considerable is probably true; for in his Despatch of August 10 to Parliament, he says: "he is resolved to turn every stone, rather than *strike* (fail) to get in the Highlanders."

Two Regiments of Foot—Monk's and Fairfax's—and Hacker's Horse accompanied him from Dumbarton; and we hear of detachments of Alured's regiment being already in Cantire. The aggregate may have been about 2,000 men; but many of these were in garrisons, and could render no assistance, except by keeping open the communications for the troops on their march. If General Deane entered the passes with 1,500 horse and foot, this was probably all the "*army*" that he had with him. They were certainly not enough to *force* passes defended by an equal or even half the number of Highlanders "on *rocks* and inaccessible places," had the latter made any determined resistance. But none was made; and the reasons assigned by General Deane's posthumous panegyrist, *Th. Tw.* Δεανόφιλος, might have been the

* Whitelocke's Memorials.

true one. They were astounded at the sight of a body of heavy cavalry marching through defiles, in which hitherto nothing bigger than a shely or Highland pony had ever been seen. The dread of cavalry amounted to a superstition* with the Highlanders. As they had never seen anything of the kind before, it is not surprising that they were paralysed at the sight of these really formidable cuirassiers. Hacker's Horse, glittering with brazen casques and breastplates, had acquired from their solidity and impenetrability on the field of battle, as well as from their armour, the title of "*The Brazen Wall*;" and their fame had doubtless preceded them into the Highlands.

The march of Major-General Deane and his cavalry through the Western Highlands is thus described by *Th. Tw.*:

The swelling seas and crossing tides can't part
 Brave *Deane* from him for whom he kept his heart.
 Let other chase the pirates; † he on shore
 Must serve his general 'till wars give o'er;
 Who, having quite subdued the restless Scots,
 Their Government unto his *Deane* allots,
 Where he achieves another victory,
 Over their hearts, by honest gallantry,
 While wise men deem it a propitious doome
 Unto their land thus to be overcome.
 For now his greatest business seems to be
 To keep their factious selves in amity.

* See Sir W. Scott, *passim*, especially "The Legend of Montrose."

† The Princes Rupert and Maurice.

He, at their instance, climbs the ragged hills
And darksome groves that Caledonia fills,
Whilst the fell natives stand aloof and gaze
From craggy rocks, in a profound amaze,
To see the horsemen march in places where
They never saw aught but the hunted deer;
And in affright their chiefs come falling down,
And vow they'll ne'er more plunder field nor town.
His march was a quick journey, his retreat
A pleasant walk, with little blood or sweat.

This march, however, was not unattended by difficulties and dangers. The army was obliged to carry its own food. Four hundred baggage horses, led by countrymen, were laden with bread and cheese. And yet the general was so careful of the property of the inhabitants of those wild regions, that he would not allow the horses to be led through the oats. The people are described as "simple and ignorant of the things of God, and some of them as brutish heathens." Others, however, we are told, "did hear the English preachers (qu. soldiers?) *with great attention and groaning.*"* The general punished plunderers severely, and observed strict discipline.

Whitelocke speaks of this expedition as one of discovery! He enumerates its difficulties—viz., "extremities of heat and cold—the scorching sun in the valleys, and snow upon the tops of the mountains: the continual facing of the inhabitants at every pass—and, what was not the least to be dreaded, the frequent tumbling of the dragoons' horses *through the roofs of houses!*" The "set off"

was "plenty of venison, and spring-water better than the sack at Leith." *

VII. The successful issue of the expedition is confirmed by later letters.

Leith, Sept. 18.—The Marquis of Argyle was, this afternoon, with the Major-General. It is supposed he will propose some overtures for bringing in the western Highlanders, who are yet in arms.

Oct. 23. On Wednesday night last, the Marquis of Argyle came to Edinburgh. He had so perfected the work in the Highlands, that our prisoners are relieved out of Caversa Castle, where about sixty of them were kept, twenty miles from Inverara; where they had perished had they not been allowed, some of them, one biscuit and cheese. The Marquis used them very civilly, at the coming by his house, allowing them good quarters, some money to bear their charges, and giving them passes through the country.

Edinburgh, Nov. 2.—It was given out that Argyle hath privately closed with the English and made an agreement concerning the Highlanders, the particulars of which are not well known. But they affirm that he hath got ten good conditions for himself, and all his own lands freed from public burthens. He hath also sold some cannon to the Commonwealth, for which he is to get good payment.

Doubtless the crafty MacCallum-more made a good bargain for himself, but, as the above writer does not give any thing more conclusive than common reports, we must take his account with an allowance. The terms of "*the agreement*" are still extant—or were so a few years ago, in a document preserved in the library of Worcester college, Oxford, which

* Whitelocke, 539.

was dated December 30, 1652, and entitled in the catalogue

Agreement between Major-General Richard Deane, Commander of the Forces in Scotland, and Dughall McPherson, Bailiff of Badgenoth, under the Marquiss of Argyll.

This document I have not been able to find, nor is the librarian of the college able to account for its disappearance. It is to be hoped that it is only mislaid.

The tranquillity of the Highlands, after this expedition of General Deane, is thus commented upon by Dr. Gilbert Burnett, Bishop of Salisbury, himself a Scotchman:—

After this Scotland was kept in good order. Some castles in the Highlands had garrisons put into them that were so careful in their discipline, and so exact to their rules, that in no time were the Highlands kept in better order. There was good justice done, and vice was suppressed and punished. *So that we always reckon those eight years of the usurpation a time of peace and prosperity.*

For this tranquillity Scotland was in a great measure indebted to the judicious vigour of RICHARD DEANE, whose administration inaugurated this golden age of North Britain. Monk had, before him, kept down the country bordering upon the Highlands; but it was only by the continued pressure of a visible force which terrified the inhabitants into subjection. Deane had produced the same effects with a better result. For while his vigour and activity reduced the Highlanders to peace, his equitable administration of justice secured the cheerful submission of the Lowlanders.

VIII. Goodwin calls Monk and Deane “the two ablest of the English commanders,” and says that “Deane was, probably, a man of no less ability than Monk.” In a purely military point of view there might not have been any assignable difference between them. But as a civil governor the first place unquestionably belongs to Richard Deane, as Goodwin* himself intimates when he tells us that Monk was removed from his command to make way for Deane, “because he had been found incompetent to its civil duties.”

The estimation in which both these officers were held by their contemporaries may be gathered from a letter† of John Lilburne—“Freeborn John”—dated Bruges, February 4, 165 $\frac{2}{3}$, in which he says, that Cromwell got up the Dutch War in order to divert the minds of the people of England from his own ambitious designs upon their liberties; and that, having obtained the dominion of the Narrow Seas, it was his intention “to invade Holland with a formidable army of horse and foot, to be commanded by one or both of *those notable shrewd men*, Lieutenant-General Monk or Major-General Deane.”

John Lilburne was no friend to Oliver Cromwell, under whom he suffered imprisonments, and was, therefore, not at all inclined to speak favourably of those generals who were known to be his chief supporters. His testimony, therefore, to the mili-

* Hist. of the Commonwealth, 3, 366, and 319.

† Addressed to D. D.; see King's Pamphlets, B.M.

tary merits of Monk and Deane is to be received as sincere.

A still more extravagant design than the invasion of Holland was imputed to the Parliament by common report, in which the services of General Deane were to be employed, namely, the invasion of the Papal territories, with a view to the capture of Rome itself, and the suppression of Popery. This is alluded to by "*J. R. Merchant*," one of the posthumous panegyrists of Richard Deane :

Who, had he lived, the curled waves t' have tear'd,
 ROME had ere long this noble Hero heard
 At her proud gates, them to account to call,
 For the Saints' blood they shed, and Martyrs all.

Had this crusade really taken place under the pretext assigned, it would have recalled the ingenious reason of Mahomet the Second for his attack upon Constantinople, because the Greeks, the ancestors of the Byzantines, had invaded Asia, and destroyed *Troy*.

The Romans also are said to have sent Paulus Æmilius into Greece to avenge *Æneas*.

IX. Before Major-General Deane set out for his expedition into the Highlands, he took care that one of the most important duties of a civil Government, that of regulating the education of the people, should not be neglected. The schools and universities of Scotland had, under the rule of the General Assembly, grown up into hotbeds of bigotry, almost

as opposed to the spirit of the Christian religion as Popery itself. A gloomy and illiberal fanaticism, intolerant of every opinion not held by the Professors of the Solemn League and Covenant, had pervaded every institution of the country. The tyranny of Rome could not have been more intolerable to the English Independents, who freely granted that liberty of conscience to others which they claimed for themselves, and could not endure the sight of a whole nation ground down by a cold-blooded austerity into an uniformity of passionless faith, equally repugnant to the dictates of nature and the happiness of mankind.

It was not likely that the Chief Commissioner, whose principle was "*In sacris nec cogere, nec cogi,*" would suffer such a state of things to remain without correction. An edict of the Commissioners was accordingly issued, June 12, 1652, with this preamble—

The Commissioners of the Commonwealth of England, being careful to promote piety and learning, and to settle a godly and peaceable ministry through this nation, *who may make it their only work to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ,* have constituted and appointed *Richard Deane* Esquire, Major-General of the army, *G. Fenwick, G. Smyth, J. Marsh, Andrew Owen, Edward Moseley, Ri. Saltingstall, Saml. Disbrowe, and Edw. Tyler,* Esquires, or any three of them, to be visitors of the universities, colleges, and schools of learning in Scotland.

The object of this commission was to assimilate the Scotch universities and schools as nearly as

possible to those of England, where secular learning was far more extensively and liberally cultivated than in Scotland, which was given to theological polemics and conceits, and also to restrain the Scottish clergy within the legitimate bounds of their profession—"to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ *only*, and not to intermeddle with secular matters to the confusion of the public mind and the obstruction of the civil Government." Such was the spirit and intention of the EDICT.

The brief duration of the authority of General Deane prevented these reforms from being fully carried out; but they were begun and were among the chief causes of that "eight years' tranquillity of Scotland" which Bishop Burnet so commends and attributes to the (happy) USURPATION.

However galling it may have been to the Scotch to be despotically governed by the English, yet no candid Scotchman can deny that this was the happiest period of his country, until its present condition, in union with England. The Highlands were subdued, the Lowlands brought under regular and more rational laws, the power of the Kirk to persecute taken away, and the eyes of the public opened to the enormity of their Spiritual Courts. If all this was not the work of one man it was the work of one principle, faithfully inaugurated by a commission, of which one man—RICHARD DEANE—was the head—of one army, of which the same man was commander-in-chief. It was therefore hardly an exaggeration—or if so, an

excusable one—in the writer of his epitaph to say of such a man—

Bellicorum tormentorum olim Præfectus,
 Et mox totius Scotiæ Proconsul,
 Et tandem Thalassi-Archo-Triumvir,
 Tribus his provinciis
 Tam prudenter, tam fideliter, tam fortiter ornatis,
 Ut
 Rarâ civilium bellorum felicitate,
 Tribus successoribus magnis,
 Ducibus, ubique magnis, et maximis,
 Maximus haberetur.

But “the time of his departure was at hand.” Hardly had the pacification of the Highlands been completed, when the DUTCH WAR broke out, and the necessities of the nation demanded the head and hand of the Pacificator of Scotland upon another element. The call of his country was cheerfully obeyed by him, who was, as the poet laureate* of the Commonwealth says of him—

Et pelago, terrâque potens, in utrumque paratus,

and whose merits are similarly apostrophized by another poet of the age—†

Most noble Deane! who can describe thy worth?
 Potent at sea and land, whose ready skill
 Is fortunately met by active will.

There is no surer test of the worth of a military or naval commander than his readiness to obey the voice of his country whenever or wherever it may call him. RICHARD DEANE had attained the sum-

* Payne Fisher.

† T. M. (Thomas Morley) “*Veni, vidi, vici.*”

mit of all reasonable ambition. He could not rise higher, and it was hardly possible that he could be happier. In the plenitude of his power and in the perfect enjoyment of the luxuries of Dalkeith Palace, in which he had taken up his abode, he heard that a formidable war had broken out, and that ROBERT BLAKE, "the Fortress of his Country," had demanded the assistance of his well-trying comrade; and he lost no time in responding to the call.

Th. Tw. Δεανόφιλος, whom it is a pleasure to quote for his generous enthusiasm in behalf of his friend, and who, notwithstanding his general mediocrity and frequent plunges into *bathos*, struck out occasionally some sparks of poetic fire, gives what we may consider a faithful picture of the last peaceful days of his hero, as well as a just delineation of his patriotism—

And now may he in pleasure rest awhile,
 With his dear consort, and his time beguile
 In Dalkeith turrets, or her shady groves,
 While to her lute she sweetly sings their loves.
 But this soft music thundering cannons mar,
 Which send quick tidings of approaching war—
 And is a duty or a danger near,
 On land or sea, and noble Deane not there?

The Council of State, informing General Deane of the commencement of hostilities with Holland, intimated their desire that he would resume his post as one of the Generals at Sea, and his reply, December 11th, stated his willingness to do so as soon as his successor in Scotland was appointed,

and ready to take his office. The answer was entered in the journals of the Council, who appointed Colonel *Robert Lilburne*, the brother of the celebrated "Freeborn John," his successor, and General Deane cheerfully left the government in his hands, for he knew that Lilburne was a good soldier and an honest man, and had at least one virtue to recommend him—that he had no original genius and no personal conceit like his more clever but crazed and mischievous brother, and might, therefore, be the more willing to carry out the reforms already begun by more energetic minds. For the rest, General Deane trusted to the sagacity and patriotism of St. John and Vane, than whom no president of a council could have better supporters, to keep the new commander-in-chief in the path of prudence.

Richard Deane gave up his command, amidst the regrets of his colleagues and "subjects," but the highest testimonial to his efficiency was given by the Highlanders themselves; for no sooner did they hear of his departure from Scotland, than they resumed their old habits, defied the authorities, and harassed the Lowlands! and it was some time, and that not without bloodshed, before Colonel Lilburne succeeded in reducing them to anything like their former order.

Shortly before the breaking out of the war, Popham, the General at Sea, died; and his place was filled up by MONK, who had acquired a reputation for vigour, and was recommended by Cromwell,

M

for his own purposes, as will be seen hereafter. To Monk himself it was a compensation for the loss of Scotland, to the government of which he had naturally looked as his succession, on the promotion of Lambert to the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland. However his vanity may have been hurt by the passing of Deane over his head on that occasion, he was prudent enough to acquiesce in it. And although, in his new post, he was still below Deane, as the junior Admiral-General, yet the commission under which the "three generals at sea" acted, made them, *primâ facie*, equal, by giving them joint authority and co-ordinate powers; any two of them in agreement having authority to control the third.

The appointment of three such men as BLAKE, DEANE, and MONK to the command of the fleet was hailed with universal satisfaction and hopefulness, which were represented by the exultant spirit in which Andrew Marvel recorded the popular approbation:—

For now of nothing may our State despair,
 Darling of Heaven, and of man the care.
 Provided that they be what they have been,
 Watchful abroad, and honest still within.
 For while our Neptune doth a trident shake,
 Steel'd with those piercing heads, DEANE, MONK, and
 BLAKE,
 And while Jove governs in the highest sphere,
 Vainly in hell let Pluto domineer!

XI. I cannot close this chapter without placing before the reader the remarks of one of Scotland's

greatest and best of sons, upon this period of Scottish history. Speaking of the Highlanders, Sir Walter Scott says:—

The same period which saw their first brilliant display, beyond the bounds of their own mountains, also saw them receive within their strongest fastnesses a chastisement which the hands of their own monarchs had never been strong enough to inflict. The stern policy of Cromwell established garrisons at Inverness, Inverlochy, and other places in the Highlands. He set on foot moveable columns which constantly patrolled the country, and became acquainted with its most hidden recesses; the castles of the chiefs were destroyed; the woods that sheltered them were cut down; and, finally, in spite of the valour of the clans, and the enthusiasm of their chiefs, he compelled them to surrender their arms, and to give pledges for their peaceable conduct. And it is generally allowed, that as the Highlands had never been in such quiet subjection until this period, so their neighbours never enjoyed such an interval of rest from their incursions until after the year 1745. The rigorous discipline of Cromwell was equally seen in crushing the spirit of chivalry among the rude mountain chiefs, as among the cavaliers of England. And so strong was the impression which his arms made on their imagination, that in 1726 an aged Highland laird told Mr. Burt that Oliver's colours were so strongly fixed on his memory, that he still saw them spread out by the wind, having the word EMMANUEL upon them in large golden characters.*

Sir Walter Scott, in this eloquent and just tribute to the government of the English in Scotland in 1650-1653, gives the whole merit to Oliver Cromwell. The chief merit was doubtless his, as the originator of the policy, and the mind which impressed its own convictions upon the minds of those

* Article in Quarterly Review by Sir W. Scott, January, 1816.

whom he selected to carry out his conceptions. But it is not to be any longer unrecorded that the man who first carried out Cromwell's policy in the Highlands of Scotland was Major-General RICHARD DEANE, the commander-in-chief of the English army in Scotland in 1651-1653, who marched from one end of the Highlands to the other with his portentous cavalry, which struck such dismay into the hearts of the inhabitants of every valley, from Inverness to Inverara; and who was the only man to whom the House of Commons voted "the thanks of the House" for the pacification of the Highlands.

The old laird, who in 1726 so well remembered the march of the formidable column under the flag of EMMANUEL, may have witnessed the progress of Deane's horsemen in 1652, "*with Emmanuel on their bridles.*" The supposition would not make him more than eighty-five when he related his reminiscences to Mr. Burt.

Cromwell was a great man, and did great things, but he did not do everything. He was never in the Highlands, and he did not "pacify" them, any more than he raised every mound now visible within cannon range of a castle, or ruined every church which is now disgraced by shattered monuments and broken painted windows. Upon Cromwell and his party are often laid by popular tradition the works of the Romans and the sins of the Reformation. Many of these mounds were raised by Britons, Romans, or Normans; and the so-called "Reformers" did infinitely more mischief in our

churches than Oliver Cromwell and all his armies of saints together. *Cuique suum*. Let every one bear his own burden. And if this rule be fairly and widely observed, not a small share of the glory of the "Pacification of the Highlands" will fall to RICHARD DEANE, of whom his epitaph, with hardly any exaggeration, says—

Cæsarianos limites in Scotiâ
 Milite Anglo transivit Romano impervios,
 Nec inhospitali solo nec asperiore sidere fractus
 Ultimam emensus est Thulem
 Victoriis.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE DUTCH WAR.—COLLISION BETWEEN BLAKE AND TROMP.—
THE “RIGHT OF THE FLAG.”—GENERAL CONSTERNATION.—
JUNCTION OF BLAKE AND DEANE.

I. During the twenty-seven years which succeeded that of the ill-advised expedition of Pennington to Rochelle the royal navy had been gradually advancing both in numbers and efficiency, and yet with all their advances the naval power of England was still inferior to that of Holland. Her reputation also, although deservedly great on land, was not to be compared with that of her rival republic on the sea, who had lately humbled the arrogance of Spain and destroyed her last armada. The ships of Holland were better found, better manned, and, above all, better officered than those of England. Oliver Cromwell was not greater or more dreaded on land than Martin Herbert Tromp at sea, and the major-generals of the former were more than matched in renown by the vice-admirals of the latter.

In experience and efficiency the navy of England was still lower then in numerical and moral force. “When Van Tromp set upon Blake in Folkestone Bay,” says Algernon Sidney,* “the Parliament had not above thirteen ships against threescore,

* Discourse on Government, p. 222.

and not a man that had ever seen any fight at sea than between a merchantman and a pirate, to oppose the best captain in the world. But such was the power, wisdom, and integrity of those that sat at the helm (of the State), and their diligence in choosing men only for their merit was attended with such success, that in two years our fleets grew to be as famous as our land armies, and the reputation and power of our nation rose to a greater height than when we possessed the better half of France, and had the Kings of France and Scotland for our prisoners.”

The genius of Blake, seconded by the sagacity and valour of Deane, the seamanship of Penn, the gallantry of Lawson, and the good fortune of Monk achieved these happy results. But the people were not without their share in these glories, and should, in justice, receive their due, for without their cordial, and even enthusiastic, support, their best admirals could have done little or nothing. The Government was willingly supplied with the means of victory by the people, and the people were sustained by the conviction that they were the chosen of God to carry out His divine will in the religious and political regeneration of the world. Men of the present, comparatively godless, age may call this feeling what they please—folly or fanaticism—but it was POWER, and it prevailed.

Three reasons are suggested, with more or less force, by Goodwin for these triumphs of the Eng-

lish navy under the Commonwealth, of which the first and third seem conclusive :—

1. Men rose to command, not by connection, bribery, or patronage, but by merit.

2. Each man considered himself as a free citizen of a free state, and valued his civil and religious freedom as the choicest of possessions.

3. They were actuated by a strong sense of *religion*. They regarded themselves as fighting in the power of the Lord. It was not *they* who had won the battle, but the Lord who had given them the victory. They fought, they acted, they walked, as in the sight of God. No pusillanimous thoughts, no timidity or cowardice could harbour in their bosoms. These habits of mind rendered them at once heroic and invincible. “The most distinguished republicans at this time were Cromwell, Ireton, Vane, Marten, Blake, *Deane*, Ludlow, Haselrig, Rainsborough, Ewer, Scot, Bradshaw, Milton, and Algernon Sydney.”*

From this enumeration of the worthies of the Commonwealth Goodwin omits Lambert and Monk, and, I think, properly, for both these eminent men were eminently selfish. They would have been anything to any man to gain their own ends. Lambert was eaten up by vanity and conceit, and had not a particle of patriotism in him. Monk, the more celebrated of the two, was, by turns, Royalist, Republican, Cromwellian, Parliamentarian, Traitor, Royalist, and—*Duke of Albemarle!* Cool, calculating, and brave, he was employed in services which required those qualities; but sly, gloomy, and silent, he was neither generally loved nor respected, even by those upon whom he con-

* Hist. of the Commonwealth, v. iii. p. 500.

ferred benefits.* Neither Lambert nor Monk, therefore, could be properly placed in the catalogue of Republican worthies. The most deservedly popular man of the times was Robert Blake, whose memory, like that of Horatio Nelson, has been treasured up in the hearts of his grateful countrymen of every profession and party.

II. When the Dutch war broke out all eyes were turned upon ROBERT BLAKE, and those of Parliament, almost as instinctively, upon RICHARD DEANE as his colleague. These two general-admirals had already worked cordially together in the same cause. But a third was required to fill the place of their departed "partner" Popham, and the discernment or policy of Cromwell supplied the requisition with GEORGE MONK. Monk had not, indeed, been tried upon this field of action, but he was known to be an unflinching soldier and an unsparing enemy, and in an age when there was still so much hand-to-hand fighting, even on the decks of men-of-war, a determined land-general was not thought to be out of his element as a general at sea. The addition of Monk was, therefore, accepted as an omen of earnest intention and hard fighting, and the character of Tromp and his colleagues insured an ample demand for every quality of a man of action.

Since the death of Popham, August 19, 1652, Blake and Deane had remained the only two

* See Pepys' Diary, *passim*.

Generals at Sea to the end of their official year, December 2. Their commission, which was an annual one, was renewed for another year on the 26th of November, and Monk was added to the commission in the following terms, with Penn as the general vice-admiral.

- November 26, 1651. Ordered by the House of Parliament—
That there shall be three generals for governing the fleet at sea for the year ensuing, from the third of December, 1652, to the third of December, 1653; and that General Blake, Major-General Deane, and Lieutenant-General Monk shall be the three generals of the fleet for the year ensuing; and that Captain Penn be appointed vice-admiral.

In accordance with this Order of Parliament a letter was written by the Secretary of the Council of State to Major-General Deane, then commanding in Scotland, and his reply was ordered to be entered in the journals of the Council. "General Deane, in his letter to the Council dated the 11th of December, expresses his readiness to repair hither upon the appointing of some other fit person to succeed to his command.—Referred to the Lord General."

The Lord General, Cromwell, having recommended Colonel Robert Lilburne for the command-in-chief in Scotland, General Deane left Dalkeith on the 28th of December for England, and joined the fleet at Spithead early in January. Monk followed soon after, and the three Generals at Sea were admitted to their joint command of the fleets,

on the fixed allowance of £3 a-day each while in commission.

An Order addressed by the Commissioners of the Admiralty to those of the Navy, dated February 3, 165 $\frac{2}{3}$, was thus conveyed in a letter :—*

GENTLEMEN,

General Deane being to go forth upon this present expedition, we think it requisite that there be imprested to him four hundred pounds for fitting him with necessary accommodations; and we therefore desire you will make out a bill unto him for the said £400 accordingly.

We are your loving friends,

J. HUNT.

JO. CAREW.

J. LANGSTON.

GEO. THOMPSON.

R. SALWEY.

This allowance, considering the value of money at the time, seems to have been a liberal one, if only intended, as it probably was, for the fitting-up of the General's cabin, and furnishing him with personal comforts on board his flag-ship.

III. We have already remarked that for some years past the commercial prosperity of Holland had excited the envy and jealousy of England, and that the Dutch, on the other hand, were exasperated by the interference of the English with their herring fishery on the coast of Scotland. So far back as 1636 King Charles fitted out a squadron, and sent it, under the command of the Earl of Northumberland, to the North, where many Dutch

* S. P. O.

herring busses were engaged in fishing within the forbidden ground. These the Earl drove off, and followed to Holland, where he made a treaty with the Dutch Government, that for an annual payment of £30,000 the Dutch should enjoy the same privileges as the English on the coasts of Scotland. This payment was regularly made until the breaking out of the Civil War between the King and his Parliament, when it was discontinued. The Parliament, who conceived themselves to have succeeded to all the just rights of the King, took umbrage at this denial, as they considered it, of their legitimate right to the tribute, and drove all the herring busses from their coasts. The Dutch, resenting this proceeding as an act of hostility, prepared to assert the "freedom of the seas" as a natural and inalienable right of all the nations whose shores were washed by them.

They had, however, another and still more galling grievance. The Parliament, by the sagacious advice of Cromwell, had passed (October 9, 1651) "*The Navigation Act*," which, upon the plea of protecting home interests, was especially directed against the trade of Holland. By this Act, now foolishly abandoned at the purchased clamour of newspapers, the importation of foreign goods into England was prohibited, except in English ships owned and managed by Englishmen, and laden at the places where the produce which they carried grew, or at ports where they were usually bought

at first hand. The Dutch, who were at this time the carriers of the world, felt this as a serious blow to their prosperity,* and a dangerous strengthening of England.

A third, and still more irritating, cause of annoyance had recently arisen, which brought the quarrel to a climax. The cruizers of the Parliament were constantly boarding Dutch merchant ships in the Channel in search of goods contraband of war, which the Dutch did, indeed, frequently carry over to the Royalists in England and Ireland. Cut off from this lucrative trade, and exposed to the indignity of a search, which was exceedingly galling to their national vanity, the States of Holland sent three Commissioners into England to endeavour to bring about an accommodation of claims between the two Republics. These messengers of peace had their first audience of the Parliament April 15, 1651, and saw at once that all hopes of an agreement were vain, for the English Government began by demanding the arrears of the payment stipulated by the treaty of 1636, now ten years in arrear, and amounting to £300,000. They followed up this demand by requiring the surrender of the surviving actors in the Amboyna persecution, which had occurred in the reign of James the First, and had been almost forgotten by Europe. In addition, they demanded *free trade in the Scheldt*. Finally, they insisted upon the right of

* Colliber. *Columna Rostrata*, pp. 91, 92.

the flag and the right of search on the narrow seas, which they declared had belonged to England from time immemorial, and upon these seas, they said, they would never suffer any ship to pass which did not acknowledge their supremacy. Upon these assumptions the negotiations were broken off; but the Dutch Commissioners, still reluctant to give up all hope of success, remained in London until the war between the two nations actually broke out, when two of them returned to Holland, leaving the third, *Vanderperre*, behind, to watch events and report chances of reconciliation; in other words, as a spy, to give information upon every subject of interest to his country.

There was some ground for the claim of the "Right of the Flag and Topsail" by the English, however imperiously asserted. The privilege had been conceded by every nation for a great number of years. Every foreign vessel had lowered its flag and its topsail on meeting an English man-of-war. But Grotius in 1635, in his *Mare Liberum*, had disputed it, and had been answered by John Selden in his *Mare Clausum*. The pamphlet of Grotius was itself an answer to the assertions of Sir John Burroughs in 1633, in his tract entitled "*The Sovereignty of the British Seas proved by Records, History, and Municipal Lawes of this Kingdom.*" Burroughs had exposed himself to ridicule by carrying up the claim of the flag to the days of Julius Cæsar, and by insisting upon the titles assumed by King Edgar as proofs of this

supremacy. He had, however, better authority from the Tower Records, in the Acts of King John and King Edward the Third, from which it is sufficiently clear that the Kings of England always asserted their sovereignty over the British seas whenever they were strong enough to maintain it. The Parliament adopted the arguments of Sir John Burroughs by causing his book to be reprinted in 1651, when they had determined to enforce the claim.

It is remarkable that even Tromp himself, while vindicating the freedom of the seas, and forcibly resisting the demand of "the Flag and Topsail" by Blake in the Straits of Dover, denied, in his Apology for this resistance, that he had refused this compliment to the English "*in their own waters,*" *i.e.*, under the batteries of Deal and the guns of Dover Castle. This admission of the right was not, however, that which the English claimed; they demanded it in all the narrow seas between England and the Continent, and *this* the Dutch refused.

The particular case which brought the question to the arbitrament of the sword was that of Captain Young, of the *President*, who, in the middle of May 1652, with another frigate under his command, met two Dutch frigates of nearly equal force in the Channel, convoying a fleet of merchant ships to Holland. Captain Young demanded the customary honours of *Flag and Topsail*, which the Dutch refused. The two English frigates there-

upon opened fire upon the two Dutchmen, which was promptly returned, until the latter, being overpowered, struck their colours as "prisoners of war." This being deemed a sufficient satisfaction by the English Captain, he prudently refused to take possession of the Dutch frigates, for that would have been a violation of international law, as the two countries were still at peace.

TROMP was, at this time, lying in the Downs with a fleet of forty ships. He had been driven out of his course by bad weather five days before, and had suffered some damage, to repair which he had put into the Downs, where an English squadron, under Major Bourne, was lying at anchor. The usual civilities were exchanged between them, and Tromp was allowed to refit at Deal.

On the 29th of May he weighed anchor, and stood over for Holland. He had not proceeded far before he overtook the two crippled frigates, which had lately been in action with Captain Young. From them he learned what had happened, and instantly retraced his course towards Folkestone, "for the protection," as he afterwards said, of the Dutch merchantmen against the frigates which had assailed their convoy. The probability is, that he intended to capture these offenders, and carry them as reprisals to Holland, leaving the States-General of his own country and the Council of State in England to settle the question between them.

Blake, in the meantime, lying in Folkestone Bay, had been informed by Major Bourne of his

approach, and weighed anchor accordingly to meet him.

Let us see how they separately described the subsequent encounter; for thus only can we approximate to the actual facts of one of the most important events in our history.

1. *Admiral Martin Herbert Tromp to the States of Holland.*

In our way we met fifteen of the Parliament's men-of-war or frigates. Upon which I presently lowered my sails and struck my flag, in order to pay the honours due to the banners of England. Being come within cannon shot, the English Admiral let flie a shot at us, to which I made no answer. He then gave me another, to which I answered; upon which he let flie a whole broadside at me. I then, likewise, discharged a broadside at him, and thus, &c.

2. *Admiral Robert Blake to the Council of State of England.*

Upon the advice that Major Bourne gave me, that Tromp had appeared toward the South Foreland with a fleet of forty sail, I used all diligence to get up with him. Yesterday we discovered him below Dover Roads, and, being come within three miles of him, Tromp unmoored, with an easterly wind, which made us think that he endeavoured to avoid us, because of the dispute about the flag. About two hours after, the Dutch fleet changing its courses, tacked about, and stood right towards us, Tromp being at the head of this motion. We put ourselves into a line of battle, not doubting but Tromp's intention was to engage. When the two fleets were come within musket shot, I made a shot at his flag, which I repeated three times. After the third time Tromp let flie at us a whole broadside, and thus, &c.

An impartial observer would remark upon the

above "explanations," that both the Admirals were ready and anxious for a misunderstanding; and that each probably suppressed something, which, if it had been expressed, might have placed him in the wrong. Each tells the truth, but not the whole truth. Tromp admits that he took no notice of Blake's first shot, but "*answered*" his *second*. He does not say *how* he answered it, but leaves it to be inferred that it was with another *single* shot.

Blake says that he fired a "*second*" shot after his first had been disregarded, and that, upon an equally contemptuous disregard of his second shot, he fired a *third*—which Tromp answered with a *broadside*.

How can we reconcile these two accounts?

Perhaps Blake's second shot, and still more probably his *third*, was fired, not *at* the Dutch Admiral's flag, but *into* his ship; and, as the third may have followed quickly upon the second, Tromp, with some exaggeration, might have called it a "*broadside*."

But, when two nations are both armed, and equally ready to quarrel, no explanation is necessary to prove which is the aggressor. For, if one happens to anticipate the other in aggression, it is only by accident.

The Dutch, according to Colliber,* although greatly irritated at the *Navigation Act*, could not decently make *that* the ground of a declaration of war, since every nation has a right to pass any laws

* *Columna Rostrata*, 193.

which it may think advantageous to its own trade and commerce. "They, therefore, chose rather to begin the war by refusing to strike the flag, or to acknowledge the English supremacy at sea;" and they thought this a favourable time for action, for, by their late successes over the Spaniards and Dunkirkers, their navy had not only acquired a great *prestige*, but had also been greatly strengthened; whereas the English navy, and the naval reputation of England, were, comparatively, at a low ebb. Moreover, by resisting the claim of the flag, they were opposing an assumption which all other nations were equally concerned in opposing; and thus made themselves the champions, and anticipated the sympathies, of Europe."*

IV. The result of this collision between the two Admirals was a declaration of war by the English Parliament; a bold measure, considering the condition of their navy.

Immediately after these occurrences, the Council of State passed the following resolution:—

That a letter be written to Major-General Deane, commanding the Army in Scotland, to give him a narrative of what has happened between the English and Dutch fleets; and to let him know that the Council conceive it will be necessary, in regard to the fishing which the Dutch have every year about Orkney and Shetland, and the fair they hold there, that some further forces should be sent thither; to desire him, therefore, to give orders for the sending of such further forces thither as he shall judge fit to secure the peace against any

* *Columna Rostrata*, 193.

attempts of the Dutch. . . . To desire him, also, to acquaint himself with the nature of the harbours of Orkney and Shetland, whether or not it is possible for our ships to be defended by the forts there, in case they (the enemy) may have, at any time, occasion to come thither.

The measures recommended to General Deane were promptly adopted. Blake, on his part, began making prizes of all the Dutch merchant ships that fell in his way; but these proceedings were soon checked by the re-appearance of Tromp, at the head of an hundred sail. Tromp, however, was again driven back to Holland by a storm, and the English were left to make such preparations for war as their time and means permitted.

The first action of the war was between the squadrons of De Ruyter and Sir George Ayscue, off Plymouth. It was indecisive. Nevertheless Ayscue, as having failed to destroy the enemy, was never afterwards employed by the Parliament in any command, but, in consideration of his former services, a pension* of £300 a-year was settled upon him.

De Ruyter was more fortunate; for being reinforced by De Wit, shortly after he had parted from Ayscue, he was enabled to sustain the more terrible attack of Blake, on the 28th of September, on his way to Holland; and to extricate himself with the loss of only one ship taken, with three or four doubtfully reported to be sunk after the action, a result which was regarded by both

* Heath's Chron, 312.

nations as a drawn battle. But a still more serious conflict was approaching. Tromp, having refitted his fleet, again came out of port, accompanied by eighty men-of-war and ten fire-ships—a formidable force! and sailed direct for the Downs, where Blake was lying at anchor with only *thirty-seven*. The disparity was sufficiently great to have justified inaction on the part of the English Admiral. But, as he had lately “held his own” with fifteen ships against forty, he did not hesitate to encounter eighty with thirty-seven*—especially as his own were for the most part larger than the Dutch, and carried heavier guns; and his own experience, both by land and sea, had taught him that Englishmen never fight so well as when they fight at an apparent disadvantage, against great odds of numbers. There is always something encouraging in the conviction that where there would be no dishonour in defeat, there is to be gained the greatest honour in victory. Hence the proverbial “pluck” of little men in single combat with larger, and the desperate encounters, in which our naval annals abound, of English sloops and brigs of war with French or Spanish frigates; and of frigates with line-of-battle ships. Of a similar character was our last American war, in which our second-rate frigates did not hesitate to engage fifty-gun ships mis-named in

* The odds were, as compared with his former, 37 to 30 in his favour in number of ships; but the Dutch were also stronger than they had been in the former encounter in the fearful proportion of two to one! So that the chances against Blake were on the whole no less than 74 to 30, or more than two to one! The compensation which might have justified his rashness was in weight of metal and comparative qualities of men.

the American Navy List "frigates." Whenever the forces approached to an equality the American was captured.

The battle which ensued between Blake and Tromp was one of the most severe ever fought with such unequal forces, and served to prove—if it did nothing else—the indomitable courage of the English sailor. Numbers, and the *aggregate* weight of metal, at length prevailed; and towards night-fall Blake retreated, having lost one ship (the *Garland*) taken, one burnt, and three sunk. The names of the last four are not mentioned in any account of the battle; they were, therefore, probably, armed merchantmen. To counterbalance these losses, one of the Dutch Admiral's ships was blown up, with all her crew; and both Tromp's and De Ruyter's flag-ships were rendered totally unserviceable.

The Dutch, nevertheless, were, for the present, masters of the Channel, and rode triumphantly at the mouth of the Thames. It is said that Tromp hoisted a broom at his masthead, in token that he meant to sweep the seas of the English. But this idle and vulgar bravado is so unworthy of the name and fame of the great Admiral, that we can hardly believe it of him. It is possible, perhaps probable, that some other Dutch captain may thus have shown his hazy wit. If so, it was soon met with an appropriate answer. A "new broom" was at the head of the State of England, which "cleanly swept" the vain boaster back to his own shallows.

OLIVER CROMWELL was the supreme influence, if not the supreme head, of the nation, and he knew where to find men both able and willing to retrieve the disaster of the 29th of November, and to revive the noble spirit of Blake, who had been almost heartbroken at his defeat; and yet no victory could have been more glorious to his fame than this unsuccessful battle against such overwhelming odds!

He ought, in accordance with the ordinary rules of prudence, to have delayed the engagement until he had received the reinforcements which were being collected for him in the river Thames, but what mischief might not the too powerful enemy have done in the meantime along the coasts? The enemy were in front and in flank, and might easily intercept reinforcements. Besides, he knew that his countrymen would rather pardon defeat under such unequal conditions of battle than that want of "pluck" which a retreat would have suggested. He fought, therefore, not without some hope of success, but with a certainty of honour to himself and glory to his country, and of that moral effect upon both friends and foes, which indomitable courage always produces, even when it fails of success.*

* The charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava, and the attack of the Taku Forts by the English flotilla of gunboats under Admiral Hope, are two rash actions, which, although they may not be "*War*," are unquestionably "*magnifique*," and will cause an enemy to think twice before he meets an English Army or Navy with anything like equal forces. The battle of Inkerman and the charge of Balaclava have, I firmly believe, had more influence in securing the consideration of our good friends and neighbours than all our Volunteers and heavy artillery and "arms of precision" put

But Blake's defeat was greater than he had expected or imagined possible, and he was proportionately cast down and disconsolate; and it is very remarkable that he imputed his want of success not to its true cause, the want of adequate force, but to the backwardness of some of his captains! and in the bitterness of his feelings tendered his resignation of the command of the fleet—which, to the credit of the Government, was not accepted. The portion of his letter conveying his resignation was as follows:—

Aboard the *Triumph*, December 1, 1652.

I am bound to let your Honours know that there was much baseness of spirit, not among the merchantmen only, but in many of the State's ships. And, therefore, I make it my earnest request that your Honours would be pleased to send down some gentlemen to take an impartial and strict examination of several commanders, that you may know who are to be confided in, and who are not. . . . And I hope it will not be unreasonable for me, in behalf of myself, to desire your Honours that you would think of giving me, your unworthy servant, a discharge from this employment, as being far too great for me, especially since your Honours have added two such able gentlemen (*Deane* and *Monk*) for the undertaking of that charge, so that I may spend the remainder of my days in private retirement, and in prayers to the Lord for blessings on you and the nation.

The Council of State, refusing to accept his resignation, complied with his request for an inquiry into the conduct of his officers, three of whom, Captains Young, Saltonstall, and Taylor, they sus-

together. It is not the possession of such *materiel*, but the manner in which it is likely to be used, which is the question for our friends and enemies.

pended, and cashiered a fourth, who was no less a person than Benjamin Blake, the brother of the Admiral himself! This evenhanded justice reconciled all to the severity of the proceeding. For *severe* assuredly it was, when officers were punished, not for backwardness when courage might have won the day, but for not rushing forward into certain destruction, when the most heroic self-sacrifice could have availed nothing to produce a different result.

The Court of Inquiry took a milder view of the alleged shortcomings of the three captains than the Admiral had done, for they acquitted them of misconduct or disobedience of orders, and only suspended them for three months,* during which they were imprisoned in the Fleet prison, after which they were discharged and sent back to their duties. Even Benjamin Blake, when his brother's anger had abated, was restored to the service in the following year, and justified the clemency of the State by his future conduct. The Admiral, in his humility, thought that what he himself could and would do might be done by any one of his captains with equal ease, and he was therefore the more vexed when any of them fell short of his expectations, and most keenly he felt what he considered the *indelible* disgrace of his own brother being one of the backward ones. It was fortunate for the

* Nothing was proved against them to justify the charge of cowardice, or want of zeal and activity. Their conviction and imprisonment were evidently intended only to give some colour to Blake's complaints, and to soothe his wounded spirit. As soon as he was satisfied they were restored.

country that he himself had not paid the penalty of his own desperate valour with the loss of his life; but one great Naval principle at least was established by this severity — that the country which “*expects every man to do his duty*” will not be satisfied unless every man has done it to the *utmost* of his ability.

Nil factum reputans dum quid superesset agendum.

V. The Commissioners of the Admiralty, acting under the Council of State, lost no time in their exertions to redeem the past. Reinforcements of ships and men were supplied so abundantly, that in three months after this defeat Blake was at the head of a fleet of three times his former strength, and had the additional advantage of the assistance of Deane and Monk.

Blake and Deane embarked on board the same ship, the *Triumph*, for, as the decision of any two of the three Generals was imperative on the third, it was fitting that the two seniors should be together. We shall see, a few months later, how a departure from this rule of “*seniors*” enabled Cromwell to overthrow the Constitution to which he had sworn allegiance.* Monk was appointed to the *Vanguard*, and had the command of the second division of the Fleet.

Richard Deane was accompanied on board ship by his brother-in-law as his secretary, who was

* This is not said to cast any reflection upon Cromwell, for he was perfectly justified in suppressing a House of Commons which was ruining the country.

immediately appointed by Blake "Secretary to the Generals." This gentleman was *Drue Sparrow*, who had recently married Jane the youngest sister of General Deane. The vacancy which he was appointed to fill had been created by the dismissal of Francis Harvey,* who had fallen under the displeasure of Blake on the fatal 29th of November. This appointment illustrates the single-mindedness of Blake, who, as the senior in command, had probably the patronage of this place. He resigned it to his colleague, thereby proving that in dismissing Harvey he had no private interests or private friendship to serve, but simply consulted the good of the service. He was not disappointed in his expectations from the recommendation of his colleague, for Drue Sparrow, so far from shrinking from his duty, was one of the first victims of it, being killed, within three weeks of this date, upon the quarter-deck of the *Triumph*, in the sanguinary battle off Portland.

Blake and Deane sailed from Queenborough, Feb. 8, and from the Swinn on the 11th Feb. with a fleet of sixty ships. Monk, in the *Vanguard*, followed, bringing 1,200 soldiers, who were to be distributed through the Fleet. Penn, as Vice-Admiral, hoisted his flag on board the *Speaker*, and Lawson, as Rear-Admiral, on board the *Fairfax*.

The Fleet, which sailed from Queenborough Feb. 8, was obliged to come to anchor in the Swinn, and to remain there three or four days, in vain expect-

* Life of Sir W. Penn, i. 471.

tation of promised reinforcements. The Generals wrote to the Commissioners of the Admiralty that "neither the ships nor men promised had come down the river, and that they could not safely sail without them."

On the next day, Feb. 9, they wrote a still stronger letter which, being, not only characteristic of the writers but also instructive to the reader, I insert at full length, for it shows that Blake and Deane were quite aware of the natural tendencies of civilians under Government to be "*slow*" and (not) "*sure.*" If ever official activity was needed it was assuredly so at a crisis when the enemy had only retired into their harbours to come forth again in redoubled strength, and when a ship or two more or less, or better or worse manned and armed, was nearly sure to affect the result of the next battle. The Generals, aware of this, rush at once *in medias res.*

GENTLEMEN,

Some of the ships with us are in great want of seamen. We desire that you will be mindful of us concerning this matter, and cause those you have already to be hastened to us, and also what more may be had. You cannot but be sensible of our condition, that if the ships be tardy, and men be not hastened, we may be put, either to lose the first opportunity of wind and weather to get into the other channels, or else be forced to go before we are in such a capacity as you would wish for the action and service which may, probably, be expected. You know your promise to us, and of what concernment the hastening of the ships and men is, and,

therefore, we shall say no more, but lay this before you, and leave it to your consideration.

We are, &c.

ROB. BLAKE.

RI. DEANE.

On board the *Triumph*, in the
Swinn, February 9, 1653.

In consequence of this letter, the Commissioners of the Admiralty stirred up the Commissioners of the Navy, with whom the executive lay, sending them a copy of the Generals' letter. But the Generals, after all, were compelled to weigh anchor on the 11th, without the promised reinforcements.

On the 12th the fleet came to anchor in Dover Roads. The Generals' Secretary, Drue Sparrow, gave an account of the progress of the Fleet in letters to Mr. Blackstone, Secretary of the Admiralty, to whose care we are indebted for the preservation of the valuable correspondence, now made accessible to the literary world by Lord Romilly, the present Master of the Rolls; a "judgment which it is to be hoped will never be reversed" through any abuse of the privilege.

burne

The following letter of Sparrow is interesting from its evident object—a desire to open a channel of communication with his wife. It is one of the last the poor fellow ever wrote, for in six days from this time he was one of the *eighty* killed on board the Admiral's ship:—

Dover Roads, Feb. 12, 1653.

. . . We are taking in the souldiers from Dover. I intreat the favour of causing the inclosed to be sent to Mr. Powell, who belongs to you, or by any other conveyance, and

pardon troubles of this kind, for you find I am very bold with you in it; and must further beg that if any from my dearest* comes to your hand you will let them have conveyance to me. And, if I may know wherein to serve you, you shall find me really

Your humble Servant,

DRUE SPARROW.

On the 17th he writes another letter, also with an inclosure, dated—"Six leagues off the Isle of Wight." He sends Mr. Blackstone a list of the ships that have arrived, and speaks of being in expectation of immediate action. This letter appears to have been written by a clerk, at his dictation, for he adds, by way of explanation, a postscript in his own hand:—

Excuse the trouble of the enclosed [a letter to his wife]. We every minute look to engage the Dutch fleet, therefore you will imagine that we are in a hurry.

He was soon after killed. The P.S. was probably added on the morning of the 18th, on which day the first shot was fired.

VI. TROMP had sailed down Channel some days before this, to meet and protect the homeward-bound Dutch East Indiamen, who had been ordered to *rendezvous* at Rochelle. The object of the

* This affectionate allusion of a brave and deserving man to his wife, the sister of his General, is a tribute to her merit, and, indirectly, to that of her brother. Some time after the death of Drue Sparrow she remarried a Mr. Monteage, a London merchant, and named her first-born son "Deane." Monuments to the memory of father and son were erected in the churchyard of Allhallows on the Wall, London. The arms inscribed were three *fleurs-de-llys* surmounted by a *regal crown*. Jane Deane (*Sparrow-Monteage*) died, and lies buried with her mother, at Buckingham in 1670. See *Pedigree*.

English was to intercept this fleet before they reached a French harbour.

The earliest intelligence received on shore of the sailing westward of the Dutch was from Captain Wood of the *Centurion*, who cast anchor in the Downs Feb. 16. He had spoken the *Dolphin* on that day, and had been informed that an Ostender (spoken by the *Dolphin*) had that morning "seen an hundred Dutch men-of-war, with two hundred merchantmen under their convoy."* This information was forwarded to the Commissioners of the Admiralty by Major Bourne from Dover; so that, when the news of the great battle off Portland reached London, every one was prepared for it, and their anxiety must have been intense.

This great battle began on the 18th, and lasted three days.

The Dutch fleet was first descried at daybreak on the 18th from the masthead of the *Triumph*, which was in advance of the English fleet. The author of the *Lives of Martin-Herbert Tromp* and *Cornelius Tromp* † his son gives us an amusing (and probably a sarcastic) account of Blake's first discovery of the enemy. He professes to have taken this account from a letter of Blake to the English Government. Perhaps it is needless to say that I have found no such letter in the State Paper Office. Blake is represented as saying:—

The fleet was right against Portland and much perplexed,

* S. P. O.

† Published in Holland in Dutch and translated into English 1690.

John Cow

for fear of the enemy, upon sight of us, should have made away farther from us. Two days before we were at prayers, and on the 18th *we perceived that God was going to inform us where they were.* The text that day was taken out of 2 Chron. xx. 16, in these words—"To-morrow go ye down against them; behold they come up by the Cliff of Ziz, and ye shall find them at the end of the brook, before the wilderness of Jeruel. Ye shall not need to fight in this battle. Set yourselves, stand ye still, and see the salvation of the Lord with you, O Judah and Jerusalem! Fear not, nor be dismayed. To-morrow go out against them, for the Lord will be with you." And the chapter was scarcely expounded, but even before the break of day we discovered the enemy's fleet.

If Blake was really moved by this text, he limited himself scrupulously to the first injunction—"Go ye down against them!" for he certainly disregarded the admonition "*Ye shall not need to fight in the battle.*" He not only "went down against them," "and kept his powder dry," but also used it very freely and effectually.

There can be no doubt of the use of daily prayers on board the General's ship, nor of the habitual exposition of a chapter in the Old Testament by the chaplain to the ship's crew. But we may reasonably doubt this alleged application by Blake to the *sortes biblicæ*, in order to discover an inspiration which he would more readily find in his own breast. Blake was a religious, but not a superstitious, man. There is nothing in any of his despatches to countenance the supposition that he would have "dipped" into the Bible to learn his duty as an English Admiral.

But, whatever may have been the case with

Blake, it is certain that no such charge could be substantiated against *Deane*. On the contrary, if we may trust Prince,* the biographer of “The Worthies of Devon,” General Deane was not addicted to excessive prayers or expoundings; nor likely to be moved by the chaplain’s interpretation of texts or omens:—

Εἰς οἶωνος ἄριστος· ἀμυνέσθαι περὶ πατρῆς.

“This Deane,” says Prince, “though he was a Beamist in religion, yet he retired for two hours to some private devotions (*which was not usual with him*) the morning before his death.”

Prince had got hold of a story that Richard Deane was a disciple of *Michael Behm*, whom he confounds with *Jacob Behmen*, the visionary; and accordingly invests Deane with the Behmenist doctrine of “*perfection in godliness*,” which rendered the duty of prayer unnecessary, as no longer binding upon one who was above all ordinances. That there were many in that paradise of fools and fanatics, the England of the seventeenth century, who held such monstrous opinions, may be true enough. But that Richard Deane was one of them is not true. He was not a *Behminist*, but (perhaps) a *Behmist*—a very different kind of enthusiast. The Behmists held the doctrine of the possible perfectibility, not of an individual, but of the CHURCH OF CHRIST. They believed that THE CHURCH *could* “go on unto perfection,” and they endeavoured to

* Life of Monk, 590.

draw up a scheme of Christianity so comprehensive as to embrace all Churches, so that there should be only "one fold under one Shepherd, JESUS CHRIST." Michael Behm desired to include the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Reformed Churches in one universal Church, which should hold the fundamentals of Christianity under the sole guidance and authority of the Holy Scriptures, ignoring all merely man-made articles of faith and human heads of the Church, whether Pope, King, or Presbytery.

To such a sect Richard Deane may have inclined, for the writer of his epitaph, who knew him well, seems to indicate some such comprehensiveness of creed when he says of his principles—

*Religio erat, in Sacris nec cogere nec cogi,
Hæc aurea libertas;*

a description which may, indeed, denote only his INDEPENDENCY, but it may extend beyond it, and characterise his BEHMISM.

He had been an *Anabaptist*, *i.e.* what is now called a *Baptist*, before he was appointed one of the Generals at Sea in 1649, if we may believe an *inuendo* in a lampoon. In this lampoon, which I have already quoted, the sailors are urged to "*new-dip* Deane," a phrase which implies that he had already been once dipped, that is, that he was an Anabaptist.

His father and mother belonged to the Church of England, for he was duly and regularly baptized in Guiting Poher Church, Gloucestershire, July 8th,

1610. He left that communion, and became what was called in general terms an Independent; but of what particular creed we have no other information than the assertion of Prince, that he was a *Behmist*.

One thing, however, may be fairly deduced from all we know of him, viz., that he was neither a bigot nor a fanatic. On the memorable 20th December, 1647, all the principal officers of the army met at Windsor to hold a solemn fast, and "continued praying very fervently and pathetically from nine in the morning until seven at night." * The leaders of prayer on this occasion were Cromwell, Ireton, Hewson, Gough, Harrison, Galloway, and Hugh Peters," *but not Richard Deane*, although he was present.†

Again, when he was in command at Edinburgh, 1652, he sent his Lieutenant-Governor on a mission to the burgesses of Musselburgh, "who prayed about an hour so sweetly that it was much upon them." But we have no such testimony of "the sweetness in prayer" of the Governor himself, although his name and actions are found every day in the newspapers; and, doubtless, if any such virtue had been in him it would have been brought out of him, on paper at least. So far from this, we are told that the appointment of Major Salloway as his colleague in arranging the treaty with the Marquis of Argyle was "owing to *Deane's* not being

* Perfect Diurnall, Dec. 22, 1647.

† Evidence at the trial of the Regicides before the Lords, 1660.

thought *mercurial* enough to word it with the Scot." Mercury, the god of eloquence, had not been propitious to the votary of Mars, and it would not have been safe to trust him alone with Argyle, a "cannie Scot," who had peculiar gifts of the tongue, not only for prayer, but also for all sorts of cajolery. Major Salloway, therefore, one of the praying officers of the Windsor Staff, was directed to accompany him. "The Scot," however, with another "fair and false" Campbell, is said to have been too much for the English "*Sophis*," and made a good bargain for himself at the expense of the other Highlanders, who were sold for the value of twenty brass guns, which went into the Marquis's pocket.* It is needless to say that the guns were of no use to the purchasers, and had been only an encumbrance to Inverara Castle. The Major-General was a man of action and not of words.

There is, indeed, a record of *one* speech having been made by him at this time which will give us, probably, a juster idea of his ordinary eloquence. It is certainly very forcible, and very much to the point, and must have been both intelligible and convincing. I have noticed it before, but it is worth repeating.

A party of Highland gentlemen, who had been in arms against the Government, finding the Major-General too strong and too active for them, were willing to make terms, and came to a conference with him. The excuse which they made for them-

* See Merc. Pragmat. of that date.

selves in taking up arms may be inferred from the General's answer, "And so! you *Highlanders!* stand upon *conscience!* Will you not swallow these pills? We will make you do it!"

Here spoke the "rough and ready" *General at Sea*; and if this is a fair specimen of his ordinary addresses they must have been just of that kind which soldiers and sailors would have understood and appreciated. But the commander who talked in this way was not a likely man to be found dipping into the *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel* to ascertain the duty of an English admiral in the face of an enemy. On the other hand, there is no ground for setting him down as an infidel or sceptic, such as Henry Marten and his like, or a prayerless heretic, such as he is represented by Prince; for every other record of his life agrees with the description given of him by the *Weekly Intelligencer* of June, 1653, which deplores him as "*that godly and valiant gentleman* RICHARD DEANE."

Of Blake the same character may be certainly given. He also was "a godly and valiant gentleman." His valour we know was unbounded, and if his godliness ever outran itself into superstition, as it is alleged to have done on this particular occasion, however superstitiously he may have accepted the day of battle, he "went down" into the battle itself with alacrity, and conducted it with vigour to a glorious close.

NOTE TO CHAPTER XVII.

Naval Chaplains.

Every State's ship was supposed to have a chaplain on board, but this was not always feasible. The smaller ships had none, and the want was curiously supplied, as we learn by the following letter or order from the Commissioners of the Navy Board to the Commissioners of the Admiralty:—

GENTLEMEN,—In those great fleets set out by the State to sea, it often falleth out that many of the ships carry not ministers with them, whereby it frequently happeneth that the commanding officers and the company, when destitute of a minister, make choice of the *chirurgion*, or some other man in the ship, to officiate for that duty, who hath not only his pay according to his condition and office in the ship he belongs unto, but likewise claimeth the *groats* which the State alloweth to a minister, if any be; and for us to give such large remuneration to men unlearned would beget many ignorant that pretend to learning for gain to seek that benefit, and by that means we should lose our able ministers in the State's ships. The ancient custom is, and hath been (where no ministers are), that the *groats* are saved to the State, and the Treasurer chargeth himself with the same yearly on the front of his ledger. Yet oftentimes we have given some small reward to men that have exercised their parts and gifts when ministers are not to be had, and think they may receive some encouragement, but not a full allowance as now *chirurgions*, or others, do claim. We desire your honours to put this business in some settled way, and that you would be pleased suddenly to declare your commands therein that we may accordingly present the same.*

29 Aug. 1650.

N.B. These “groats” were not given by the Government, but collected from the ship's crew, a groat a head, and paid to Government, who *then* transmitted them (with deductions for pay) to the chaplain.

* See Order Feb. 18, 1667. S. P. O.

CHAPTER XVIII.

COMPARATIVE FORCE OF THE ENGLISH AND DUTCH SHIPS, AND
RELATIVE CHARACTERS OF THE SEAMEN.—CAUSES OF THE
GREAT DESTRUCTION OF HUMAN LIFE IN THE DUTCH WARS.

I. “The three days’ battle off Portland” has been described by many writers, English, Dutch, and French, who differ little as to its incidents, and still less as to its results. I will take these accounts in order, beginning with the official despatches of the opposed admirals, and comparing them with the narrative of an impartial Frenchman, illustrating them by extracts from private correspondence, English and Dutch; and, lastly, by historical writers on both sides. This process will carry us as near as possible to the truth, which is rarely to be attained by the evidence of one side alone. But, before we enter upon the comparison of evidence, let us take a view of the principal causes which rendered the Dutch wars the most severe and sanguinary in which our nation has ever been engaged.

The principal causes of this great destruction of human life were—

1. The insufficient strength of the ships to resist the cannonade to which they were exposed.
2. The facility and constant practice of *boarding*.
3. The employment of *fire-ships*.
4. The extraordinary animosity which actuated

the combatants—a ferocity far greater than that of any of our wars with the French or Spaniards.

These four cases *combined* will amply account for the enormous slaughter which attended upon our wars with the Dutch in the seventeenth century, both under the Commonwealth and during the reign of Charles the Second.

It is also worthy of remark that our most sanguinary battle in more recent times was that of Camperdown, when our adversaries were not French but *Dutch*.

1. INSUFFICIENCY OF STRENGTH IN SHIPS TO RESIST A PROLONGED CANNONADE.

The English men-of-war had, in this respect, a considerable advantage over the Dutch, the latter being built with more regard to buoyancy on the water than to resistance against shot; and of deal rather than oak, of which latter material the English ships were exclusively built. Hence the greater losses of the English by shipwreck after a battle, and of the Dutch under fire in close fight. The English ships were also, for the most part, larger than the Dutch of the same rating, and of greater draught of water. For the shallowness of the seas in the harbours of Holland necessitated the nearest possible approach to flat bottoms consistent with safety in the open seas. The Dutch made up their fleets with numbers rather than size of ships, and, what was still more to the purpose, were especially

skilful in the construction and use of fire-ships, by means of which they had destroyed the huge vessels of the Spaniards, and thus obtained that dominion of the seas, which was not successfully disputed by any nation until *Blake*, *Deane*, and *Monk* gave the first serious blow to their naval power, which ultimately fell, under the sea-generalship of Monk, Montagu, and Penn, and of James the Second when Duke of York.

The following table will give some idea of the size and armaments of our principal men-of-war during the conflicts of 1652—1670 :

Name of Ship.	Date.	Length of Keel.	Breadth of Beam.	Depth of Hold.	Draught	Tonnage.
1. <i>Royal Sovereign</i> * . . . } Guns, 100. Men, 815. }	1637	127	48 0	19 4	22 0	1,556
2. <i>Naseby</i> (Royal Charles) } Guns, 100. Men, 650. }	1655	131	42 0	20 8	20 8	1,229
3. <i>Resolution</i> (Royal Prince) } Guns, 80. Men, 550. }	1641	125				
4. <i>Fairfax</i> } Guns, 64. Men, 380. }	1649	116	35 8	14 6	17 6	789

The above were all considered to be line-of-battle ships. The first two were first-rate; the “*Resolution*” second rate; and the “*Fairfax*” third rate.

The English ships, being built of tougher wood and sharper keels than the Dutch, were less subject

* The building of this ship was the immediate cause of the tax of ship-money. See Evelyn’s Diary.

to splinters, and fitter to dispute the weather-gage, which was an important advantage in action.*

The Dutch, at a later period, warned by their repeated defeats, built larger ships; and in the great battle of June 3, 1665, made up by size and weight of broadside what they wanted in number of guns.

Thus, while the guns on the side of the English were 4,537 to 3,893 Dutch, the latter had the advantage, *in line of battle*, of 500 guns; having two ships of 84 and 82 guns, seven of 70 to 80, and several between 60 and 70; whereas the English had only one 86-gun ship, two 78, one 76, two 70, and four 68-60. But, if the 58 and 56-gun ships on both sides be counted as line-of-battle ships, the weight of metal in favour of the Dutch will be reduced to 300 guns, taking no account of *calibre*, which is unknown, but which was, *probably*, in favour of the English, on whose side also there were more frigates.

The English ships, on the other hand, were more fully manned in proportion to the number of guns, having one-*fifth* more men in each line-of-battle ship than the Dutch of the same rating. Thus the English three-decker of 86 had 700 men; while the two Dutch three-deckers of 84 and 82 had only 500 and 400 respectively. In this apportionment of men to guns the Dutch appear to have been "wiser in their generation" than the English; for crowded decks make greater slaughter and more discouragement—

* Colliber, *Columna Rostrata*.

a lesson which the English had learnt before their late war with the French, and for want of which the French always suffered so terribly in action whenever it came to close quarters.

For their captains and commanders, at sea as well as on land, usually sought to make up by numbers what they wanted in moral and physical force, and to supply by activity their deficiency in power of endurance. Hence the heaviest losses have always fallen upon them in battle; because the English, well knowing their enemies' weak point, always fired *into* the ship; whereas the French, generally anxious to escape, fired at the rigging.

The Dutch sailor, on the contrary, is very little inferior to the English in point of endurance on his own element, and will bear an unlimited amount of blows before he will haul down his flag. He accordingly fires *into* rather than *at* his enemy's ship; into the hull rather than at the rigging. Hence the slaughter of men on board an English man-of-war engaged with a Dutchman has always been greater than between English and French. And this was the principal cause of the sanguinary nature of our Dutch wars; both adversaries being equally bent upon destruction of life.

But the Dutchmen had (and still have) another practice, very unpleasant to an enemy, and one in which he stands alone among Europeans, or shares only with the resolute Turk. When all chance of victory appears to be gone, *he blows up his own ship* in the hope of involving that of his enemy in the

same destruction. Our Dutch wars of the seventeenth century record several instances of this desperation, and their own war of liberation many more. In the battle of the North Foreland, June 2 and 3, 1653, there was a remarkable instance of this national, but irrational (?), heroism displayed by no less sober a person than Tromp himself; but with a calculated daring which places his coolness and courage above all praise. In the heat of action a rush of boarders from Penn's flag-ship had obtained possession of Tromp's fore-castle so completely that his repeated efforts to get rid of them by charging were vain. In this extremity he suddenly quitted his men, but it was only to fire, with his own hand, a train to a barrel of gunpowder (which he had previously placed under the fore-castle for this very case of emergency), and thus he blew them all up, and rescued his own ship.

I have assumed that it was his fore-castle which Tromp blew up in this manner, but the tradition says that it was his "*upper deck*," an exploit almost too marvellous for credulity. For if Tromp blew up, not his fore-castle, but his upper deck, his ship, one would think, ought to have gone to the bottom. An English man-of-war would probably have done so; and if the Dutchman did not, it was, perhaps, because of its more fragile material and lighter build, which made a lesser resistance to the explosive force.

The last instance on record of this desperation was in the year 1832, when a sloop of war lying off

Antwerp was unexpectedly boarded by a crowd of Belgian insurgents, and to all appearances taken. The Lieutenant in command, by name *Van Speyk*, unable to dislodge the armed rabble, descended into the magazine room, and, by the discharge of a pistol, set fire to a cask of powder, and blew them all up together—the ship, himself, and all his crew. A monument erected to his memory at the Hague by the Dutch Government, and a pension conferred upon his family, record this sacrifice of life as an act of patriotic heroism. The inscription upon the monument is needless to enforce the lesson of the monument itself—“*Go and do thou likewise.*”

A nation actuated by such a spirit, however small it may be in numbers, can never be permanently deprived of its freedom by conquest. *Esto perpetua* is on its phylactery.

II. THE CUSTOM OF BOARDING.

This was common to both nations, English and Dutch, and always attempted in every general action with something like system. Two or more ships would single out one of the enemy, and assault her on both sides at once if possible, and throw as many *soldiers* as they could upon her main deck. Then began a hand-to-hand fight, in which, if the enemy were not well banded together, in two lines, back to back, and not only brave, but also enduring in their defence, the ship was sure to be carried. The dauntless character of the English sailor, and the

desperation of the Dutch, made boarding always an act of internecine ferocity.

Monk brought 1,200 soldiers to the fleet from Queenborough for the very purpose of being used as boarders in aid of the seamen, and many more embarked at Dover. These were picked men from tried regiments. We shall presently find that Cromwell's, Monk's, and Ingoldesby's regiments served on board the fleet as marines in 1652-3.* Deane's would also have been on board with him had he not been compelled to leave it behind in Scotland, for want of time for the march to the Thames, and for want of other means of conveyance—all the available ships having been hastily sent on to join the fleet.

The Dutch opposed to these veterans men of the same stamp and discipline, veterans of the wars of the Low Countries. When such men met on the deck of a man-of-war, sword or pike in hand, the slaughter could not but be great; and we are told, what we can readily believe, that it was *enormous*. The statisticians of those days never pretended to enter into details, so that we can rarely, if ever, approximate to the true number of the sailors and soldiers who fell in a great naval battle. They were always given in round numbers and generally much below the real, to prevent discouragement.

In this battle off Portland, upon which we are now entering, the *Triumph* had *at least* eighty men killed, and Lawson's ship, the *Fairfax*, out of a

* S. P. O.

crew of 380, lost about an *hundred*! These may be taken as a fair average of the rest, for several ships, both English and Dutch, went to the bottom with all their crews!

Our great battles at sea with the Dutch have always been very sanguinary. The last was Camperdown, in which we defeated them by weight of metal rather than by superior bravery or tactics. Every officer on board the Dutch Admiral's (*De Winter*) flag-ship had been either killed or wounded, and all the masts had gone by the board before she struck her colours, and not a Dutch prize had lost less than 100 men killed and wounded, while the flag-ships had lost 250 each! The number of *guns* were, in the aggregate, in favour of the Dutch, in the proportion of 1,212 to 1,060, but the weight of metal *in line of battle* was greatly in favour of the English, who had seven "seventy-fours" against four, and seven "sixty-fours" against five "sixty-eights," that is, 966 heavy guns against 636!—a great disproportion. To compensate for this disparity of force the Dutch unwisely brought frigates into the line, and hence probably their terrible loss of life. And yet the English had upwards of 700 killed and wounded! a much greater loss, in proportion to the numbers engaged, than in either of the battles of the Nile or Trafalgar. "A more sanguinary action," says an historian of the Wars of the French Revolution, "was never fought"—*unless*, we may add, with Tromp and De Ruyter, and Opdam, in 1652—1670.

And yet there was no particular animosity between the English and Dutch at Camperdown. The Dutch fought under the influence and pressure of the French, whom they hated; against the English, whom they respected as co-religionists, and the only true friends of liberty then remaining in the world. The courage they displayed was therefore the genuine one of *nature*; and that they disputed the victory so long against such odds, was a proof that they were true descendants of the Tromps and De Ruyters. It was no dishonour to them to strike their flag to an English fleet, before which a French fleet of equal size would not have stood half the time. In this point of view the battle of Camperdown is as great a glory to the conquered as to the conquerors. It may be called *a drawn victory!*

The character of the French for bravery is not to be measured by their powers of endurance. They were not morally but physically overcome by us. It was a grand characteristic of their seamen that, although sailing out of their harbours to almost certain defeat, whether by fleets, squadrons, or single ships, they *never* shrunk from the contest. This is true heroism, no matter how fostered, whether by vanity or principle. Against sailors of less physical endurance they would be always victorious.

III. FIRE-SHIPS were another cause of the enormous loss of life in these wars.

These formidable instruments of destruction

against wooden ships were much depended upon in the seventeenth century, but the Dutch seem to have excelled the English in the preparing and handling them.

Sir Anthony Deane, the celebrated shipbuilder and Commissioner of the Royal Navy, during the reigns of Charles the Second and James the Second, had been an eye-witness of the fearful havoc caused by Dutch fireships in battle, which he described in a conversation with John Evelyn, and which Evelyn records in his Diary, March 7, 1690. Sir Anthony Deane's remarks made a deep impression upon that intelligent and patriotic gentleman. The conversation turning upon the comparative merits of large ships and frigates, Sir Anthony insisted upon the superior value of the latter, "for, being to encounter the greatest ships, they would be able to protect, set on, and bring off those who would manage the *fire-ships*; and the Prince who should first store himself with numbers of such *fire-ships*, would, with the help of and countenance of such frigates, be able to ruin the greatest force of such vast ships, by the dexterity of working these light vessels to guard the *fire-ships*." He represented, says Evelyn, "the dreadful effects of *fire-ships* that he continually observed in our late maritime war with the Dutch; that when the enemy's fire-ship approached, the most valiant commanders and common sailors were in such consternation, that though then, of all times, there was most need of the guns, booms, &c., to keep off the mischief, they grew pale and aston-

ished, as if of a quite other mean soul, and slunk about and forsook their guns and work, as if in despair, every one looking about to see which way they might get out of the ship, though sure to be drowned if they did so."

This statement of Sir Anthony Deane is corroborated by the author of "The Life of Tromp,"* who, speaking of "The Battle of Four Days," June 1666, in which fire-ships were effectively employed on both sides, says, "The English Rear-Admiral beat off or sunk no less than three sent against himself, and his coolness and courage were the theme of general admiration among the Dutch, which was so much the more remarkable, because some of his men, having saved themselves by swimming, and got aboard a Dutch ship, assured us that near 300 of his men leapt overboard into the sea at the approach of two fire-ships, choosing rather to perish by water than by fire."

In this engagement the Prince 90 (formerly the *Resolution*) with the Earl of Sandwich, Admiral of the Blue Division, on board, was destroyed by a fireship, and more than half her crew perished with their brave Admiral. It was, doubtless, the Earl of Sandwich commanding the third or rear division, who so gallantly repulsed or sunk three fireships, and was destroyed by the fourth—as related above. Sir Anthony Deane was a relative of Richard Deane, and was probably introduced through his interest into the national dockyards. His subse-

* P. 357. Lond. 1699.

quent rise and celebrity were owing to the discernment and friendship of Samuel Pepys, Secretary to the Admiralty, to whose zeal and integrity while in office the English Navy owed—we will not say its efficiency, but its very existence in the reigns of Charles and James the Second. For such was the profligacy of the former King and Court, and so low the tone of general society and patriotism, that had it not been for the honesty and industry of Pepys, seconded by the support of James, the Navy, and with it possibly England itself, would have been utterly ruined.

The due proportion of fire-ships in a fleet was a main question in fitting out a naval expedition. The preparation of such fire-ships exercised the chemical knowledge of the seventeenth century, in which the English were, unfortunately, behind the continentals—and especially behind their Dutch neighbours, who, if they did not originate the fatal art, carried it to the highest pitch of excellence. Their ingenuity had been sharpened by the necessities of their wars of Independence, to counteract the overwhelming power of their Spanish tyrants whose yoke they so gallantly threw off.

The great *desiderata* in a fire-ship were, that it should ignite easily, burn steadily for a given time, and explode exactly at the calculated moment, giving time for its crew to escape in their boats, and get beyond the reach of the explosion before it involved everything within its circle in destruction. A fire-ship that exploded a minute too soon or too

late was useless. Hence the nicety requisite for the compounding of the combustibles, and the necessity of a first-rate chemist for their preparation and application.

Sir Anthony Deane, who knew so well the value of fire-ships and built several himself, was never able to come up to the skill of the Dutch in this respect. His fire-ships, Pepys tells us, were too often failures, not exploding soon enough after they had come in contact with the enemy, and thus giving him time to sink or shove them off, before any damage had been done by them. The scientific chemist should have been joined with the naval architect—it was too much to expect of one the knowledge of both.

IV. THE EXTRAORDINARY ANIMOSITY OF THE ENGLISH AND DUTCH AGAINST EACH OTHER.

This was the most remarkable, and to ordinary comprehension the most unaccountable, feature of these wars. That the only two Republics in Europe—kindred in blood, language, and religion—each of whom had won its civil freedom with the sword, and both of whom had recently shaken off the spiritual tyranny of Rome—should suddenly assume all the characteristics of the most bitter hostility towards each other is a very singular and startling fact in the moral history of the human race. The quarrel was not merely that of the two Governments; it was essentially a popular one on both

sides. The people of England and the people of Holland adopted it as a personal question in which every Englishman and every Hollander was individually concerned. And this quarrel would have broken out at the time it did had the one nation retained, and the other adopted, a Monarchical form of government, as surely as it broke out when both were Republics. For the principal, if not the only, cause of this bitterness was commercial jealousy. It showed itself at the beginning of the century in the East Indies, in the cruelties practised by the Dutch colonists of Amboyna upon the English merchants who attempted to obtain a settlement among them and earn a share in the spice trade; and it was continually breaking out in Europe, in the rivalries of the herring fishery. The smouldering fire broke forth at length into a conflagration, fanned by the pretensions of the English to the dominion of the narrow seas, and by the Dutch protection of the Royalist refugees from the persecution of the Parliament.

The barbarities of Amboyna occurred in the reign of James the First, and were ultimately avenged by Cromwell, who compelled the United Provinces to pay a compensation of £800,000 for the torture and execution of *ten* Englishmen, and the confiscation of about £40,000 of property. Charles the First had vainly endeavoured to obtain satisfaction for the outrage; but the breaking out of his own troubles interfered with his intentions, which would, if carried out, have certainly led to a war.

The English mind has, in all ages, revolted from every kind of torture inflicted upon the helpless. The mere fact that some of their countrymen had been put to torture by the Dutch of Amboyna would have been enough to exasperate them. But when the nature of these tortures was made public, and engravings representing them were circulated through the country by the industrious philanthropy (?) of the "Merchant Adventurers trading to the East," the fury of the people knew no bounds, and the "*Hogens-Mogens*"* were doomed by the popular will and voice to annihilation. These engravings represented the unfortunate victims as taken out of their prisons in irons, and fastened in cruciform postures against walls, with loose cloths under their chins. Into these cloths, and into the forcibly opened mouths of the victims, water was continuously but slowly poured, to prolong the torture, day and night; and the poor wretches were exhibited in these plates as swollen to enormous sizes, and finally bursting with the accumulation of water in their stomachs. How far this was a true representation of facts, and whether or not such results are physically possible, it never entered into the popular mind to inquire. "The thing must be true, for there it is, in print and picture," would be argument enough, even now, for anything horrible that "the people" wished to believe. It was irresistible in days when ignorance was so general and so happy, that it would have been "folly to be wise."

* *Sc. High Mightinesses.*

These and such like pictures (which I remember to have seen when a schoolboy), accompanied by the most harrowing descriptions of the previous sufferings of the unfortunate traders, while in prison, multiplied in the popular imagination the *ten* Englishmen into ten thousand martyrs; and there was scarcely a man of the ten millions of England who did not burn for vengeance upon the torturers, in comparison with whom even the Spanish Inquisition was, for the time, regarded as humane.

We need only open any one of the volumes called "*The King's Pamphlets*," in the British Museum, between the date 1650—1675, to be convinced of the bad feeling which prevailed for a quarter of a century between the two countries. Mr. Granville Penn, in his life of Admiral Sir William Penn, notices this animosity of the vulgar, of both nations, against each other, and gives instances of the unscrupulous language which they employed in expressing it. Two specimens, one in verse and one in prose, cited by Mr. Penn, will suffice to prove this.

The "*Laughing Mercury*," of September, 1652, has the following:—

I.

Now Neptune bends his curled brow,
 His rolling billows tremble;
 The Dutch do sink, the Lord knows how,
 Tarpaulins curse and grumble.

II.

Our Navy brave, stout men of war,
 That in the Channel ride,

Will make these sons of pitch and tar
Full dearly rue their pride.

III.

The devil sure intends a feast
For to invite all such men,
Having provided at the least
A shoal of pickled Dutchmen.

IV.

Avaunt, ye sponges ! sows in ruffles !
AMBOYNA we'll revenge,
When we have made the sea your tomb,
We'll squeeze out your *orange*.

The prose reviler is not behind his poetical brother in rancour, and goes even beyond him in vulgarity.

How, now, my Dutch *mullipuffs*, my fat boars in doublets ! what price bear herrings in Holland now ? Have ye fished fair and caught a frog ? Ye high and mighty dotterels ! Ye most illustrious pilcher-catchers ! Ye ungrateful *Schellums* ! How many honourable and renowned Englishmen have sacrificed their dearest blood in your redemption from the ambition and tyranny of proud Spain, who usurped over your lives, consciences, and estates by their cruel Inquisition ? Have we not been your schoolmasters that have taught you both wit and valour ? And do ye thus reward us for all these kindnesses ? Nay, then, expect the reward of ingratitude, and to render a strict account of your Amboyna tortures, that will never be forgotten by any true Englishmen ; and justice, that a long timè hath now slept, hath begun to take vengeance on your perfidiousness.

The Hollanders were not backward in retorting their hatred and contempt “ in songs, pictures, and bywords,” * especially after Blake’s defeat on 29th

* Heath’s Chronicle.

November, in which they were encouraged by the applause of the Royalists, who had taken refuge with the Court of King Charles at Breda.

Even Clarendon, at Paris, in his correspondence with Secretary Nicholas in Holland, does not hesitate to say, "We are in great hope that this notable fight at sea, in which the Hollanders have so thoroughly banged the rebels, will make a great alteration in the councils with you, and here. It is the first signal overthrow that these devilish rebels have sustained either at sea or land." It was the last! and Clarendon had to wait seven years and a half longer before they "talked of bringing the King back."

The Dutch had one advantage over their adversaries, which they used with great industry—that of engraving caricatures, in which they excelled. These engravings or woodcuts would be priceless, if they could be all recovered. The coarse wit which they displayed was, probably, supplied by the English refugees.

The style in which the Royalist remnant in London backed their brethren in Holland may be seen in *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, *Mercurius Aulicus*, *Mercurius Rusticus*, and other fugitive papers of the day, which were printed by stealth, and published under heavy penalties. They may be found among the King's Pamphlets. Into one of these volumes a manuscript leaf is stitched, which was evidently written during the great naval battle of the North Foreland, before the result of the battle was known

on shore; and it is a very curious as well as ingenious production. It is the work of a Royalist "to the backbone," for he seems to allude to the Dutch War of Liberation as an inexcusable act of *rebellion* against the King of Spain and the Netherlands! Tromp is in his eyes the "*rebel*," and Richard Deane, unquestionably, the "*Regicide*;" and he divides his venom between them, with impartiality.

A COPY OF VERSES ON THE LATE FIGHT AT SEA.

My wishes greet	— the Navy of the Dutch.
The English fleet	— I all good fortune grutch.
May no storm tosse	— Van Tromp, and all his force!
The Harp and Crosse	— shall beare my daily curse!
Smile gentle fate	— on the Dutch admirall.
Upon our State	— the plagues of Egypt fall.

Thus I my wishes, and my prayers divide
Between the Rebel and the Regicide.
Oh, that the proverb old would wheele about,
True men might have their own when rogues fall out.

The preceding lines, it will be noticed, are either complimentary or the reverse, according as they are read perpendicularly in columns, or horizontally in whole lines. It is, I believe, one of the earliest examples of this quaint and fanciful style of verse making.

While we are upon this point of our subject, I cannot help again remarking that it is singular how very few lampoons were written against General Deane "the Regicide." I have only met with two or three, and those as feeble as they could well be. It could not have been that he was too insignificant

for ridicule. The high positions which he occupied, soon after the execution of the King, contradict any such supposition. That he had some enemies and detractors we are informed by his posthumous panegyrist "*Th. Tw.*," who exclaims against them—

Hence, ye detractors, be it understood,
The *ill* of him was better than your *good*!

This was only during his life, when political feelings, or professional envy, very naturally followed in the wake of his exploits. But his glorious death seems to have silenced every railing or envious tongue, as his second panegyrist, "*J. R. Merchant*," tells us, in very uncouth, indeed, but very honest lines:—

Then rest thee where thou art, I'll seek no glory
By the relation of so sad a story,
But tell the world that thou hast paid the debt
That's due to sin, *and nere a libell yet*
Bespattring thy chaste name, whose sacrifice
Hath stopt the mouth of all thy enemies.

The eminent services of RICHARD DEANE in the "Pacification of the Highlands," for which he received the Thanks of Parliament, may have had some influence in producing this general forbearance of his enemies, or rather the enemies of his Cause; but they must, I think, have been supplemented by his personal character. For being a plain, practical, straightforward soldier, carrying out with a sound head and strong hand the orders of Parliament, and never given to any excessive or absurd preachings or "exercises," he never made

himself ridiculous in the eyes of the Royalists. And unless they could discover any peculiarity of personal appearance or manner, such as the rubicundity of Oliver Cromwell's nose, or the semi-insane fanaticism of Harrison, they had nothing to lay hold of and hold up to laughter. His person, if we may judge of it by his portraits, was remarkably fine and commanding. His words were few, and he was never to be found praying in public, or preaching "in the corners of streets to be seen of men." He was therefore spared the sarcasms of the witty and unwise, as one upon whose tough and impenetrable buff coat no such light artillery could make any impression.

An humble soul hid in a stern aspect,
A perfect friendship in supposed neglect,
A learned head, without the boast of books,
A devout heart without effected looks,

is a character at which even envy must have been ashamed to throw her dart. His imperfections and vices, as far as we know to the contrary, must have been summed up by his political adversaries in one word—REGICIDE. Whether or not that one word be sufficient to destroy every other claim to consideration, let the England which he helped to create decide.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE THREE DAYS' BATTLE.—ENGLISH ACCOUNT.—DUTCH ACCOUNT.—PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.—FRENCH ACCOUNT.—CONDITION OF THE SICK AND WOUNDED.—HOSPITAL RESOURCES.

I. "The three days' battle off Portland" was the first of a series of engagements in which there was any equality of force between the combatants. The Dutch, however, were under the disadvantage of having to protect a large convoy of East Indiamen, richly laden, and a tempting prize. On the other hand several of these merchantmen were quite as well armed as some of the smaller English ships of war, and some of them did, in fact, defend themselves bravely and successfully. The first intelligence of this engagement received in London was sent by Colonel Willoughby from Portsmouth to the Commissioners of the Admiralty, dated February 19:—

This morning, at 9 o'clock, we heard guns go off very hotly to the westward of the Isle of Wight, and they have remained still more severe till this time, being now near two of the clock, and do yet remain; by which I conceive the Fleets are engaged.

Colonel Willoughby proceeds to inform the Commissioners that "he sees a rear-admiral standing for the port, having lost her mainmast, with three Flemish ships, but what they are he knows not."

The "Rear-Admiral" turned out to be the *Assistance* of the Blue squadron. She was shortly followed by the *Oak*, Captain Edwin, with her mainmast gone, and nearly all her guns dismounted. The *Oak* had been obliged to leave the fleet at daybreak, at which time the *Sampson* had been lost. Captain Edwin saw six Dutch ships on fire before he left the fleet.

Later in the day the *Advice* frigate, Captain Day, came in. Captain Day told Colonel Willoughby that he had had five Dutch men-of-war on board him at the same time, and had received much damage from them; that he had flung thirty dead men overboard, and had forty wounded. At length one of the vessels of his squadron came to his aid, and three out of the five Dutch ships left him, "the other two he sunk outright." One of these was of 36 guns, the other 34. "Only seven men of both crews were saved, the rest went down with their ships."

The *Advice* left the fleet at midnight on the 18th off the western part of the Isle of Wight. The *Assistance*, Captain Bourne, brought in eighty prisoners.

"I could wish," says Colonel Willoughby, "that some order were taken for the removal of some of our wounded men to some hospital, for they being so many, and our town so full, we are not capable of lodging them."

II. The joint letter of the Generals to the Speaker

gives a modest report of the battle, which the private accounts represent as having been very sanguinary; much more so, indeed, than we should have thought from the official despatches.

THE ENGLISH ACCOUNT. OFFICIAL.

Aboard the *Triumph*, Feb. 27, 1652, in Stokes Bay.

TO THE SPEAKER,

SIR,

On the 18th instant, being five leagues distant from the English shore, we descried the Dutch Fleet, early in the morning, consisting (as we then judged, and are informed by some of their own number,) of eighty, all men-of-war, and 200 merchantmen, a league and a-half to the windward of the weathermost of our ships, and west of our fleet two or three leagues. The ship *Triumph*, with the *Fairfax* (Rear-Admiral Lawson), *Speaker* (Vice-Admiral Penn), and above twenty more being nearest unto them, the Dutch Admiral Tromp might, probably, (if he had pleased to have kept the wind,) have gone away with his whole fleet, and we had not been able to reach him with our main body, only with a few frigates, our best sailors, which had not been likely to do much upon them. But the said Admiral, as soon as he had discovered us, put all his merchantmen to windward, and ordered them to stay there (as some that we have taken have since informed us); and himself, with his body of men-of-war, drew down upon us that were the weathermost ships, when we were in a short time engaged. And by reason that the greatest part of our ships were to leeward, and much astern, those that were weathermost had a sharp conflict of it the whole day, till about four o'clock in the afternoon, by which time a considerable number of our ships and frigates had got so far a-head that, by tacking, they could weather the greatest part of the Dutch Fleet, which, so soon as the Dutch Admiral perceived, he tacked likewise, and those with him, and left us. We spent the remainder of that day and night to man ourselves out of the weaker ships, and to repair our rigging, sails, and masts, without which we were not in a capacity to move in the sea.

We took and destroyed, in this day, seven or eight men-of-war. They had possession of Captain Barker in the *Prosperous*, Captain

Bourne in the *Assistance*, the *Oak*, and some other ships ; but, blessed be God, we repossessed them again, with the loss of some in the *Assistance*. The leewardmost part of our ships continued fighting till night separated them, being engaged, within two hours, as soon as we.

We lost the *Sampson*, whereof Captain Button was commander, which was so much torn and unserviceable, the captain and many men slain, that we took out the men that were left and let her sink into the sea.

At night the Dutch Fleet and we kept as near one another as we conveniently could without mixing. Each of us having our lights all abroad all night. The wind coming westerly, and little wind. They steered directly up the Channel, their merchantmen a-head, and the men-of-war in the rear. We were, in the morning, some three or four leagues to the southward of the Isle of Wight.

On the 19th, as soon as it was day, we made what sail we could after them, but, it being calm, we could not get up until noon, and our main body not until two of the clock, by which time we drew very near to each other, and had warm work till night parted us. We took and destroyed this day some five sail of men-of-war. The Dutch Fleet steered up the Channel with their lights abroad ; we followed, the wind at W.N.W. ; a fine little gale all night.

On the 20th, about nine in the morning, we fell close in with them, with some five great ships and all the frigates of strength, though very many could not come up that day. Seeing some of their men-of-war somewhat weakened, we sent smaller frigates and ships of less force that could get up among the merchantmen, which put their whole body to very great trouble, so that many of them and (some of) their men-of-war began to break off from their main body ; and towards evening we pressed so hard upon them that they turned their merchantmen out of the Fleet upon us (as we conceived) for a bait ; but we gave strict order that none of our ships that could get up to their men-of-war, and had force, should meddle with any merchantmen, but leave them to the rear.

We continued still fighting with them until the dusk of the evening, by which time we were some three or four leagues off Blacknesse in France (four leagues west of Calais), the wind at N.W., we steering directly for the point of land, having the wind of the Dutch Fleet. So that if it had pleased the Lord in his providence, who sets bounds to the sea, and overrules the ways and

actions of men, that it had been three hours longer to-night, we had probably made an interruption between them and home; whereby they might have been obliged to make their way through us with their men-of-war, which, at that time, were not above 35, as we could count, the rest being destroyed or dispersed.

The merchantmen also must have been necessitated to run ashore or fallen into our hands, which, as we conceive, the Dutch Admiral being sensible of, just as it was dark, bore directly in upon the shore, where it is supposed he anchored, the tide of ebb being then come, which was a leeward tide.

We consulted with our pilots and men knowing these coasts what it was possible for the enemy to do; whose opinions were that we could not weather the French shore, as the tide and wind then were to get home, and that we must likewise anchor, or we could not be able to carry it about the flats of the Somme. Whereupon we anchored; Blackness being N.E. by E. three leagues from us.

The night being very dark, and blowing hard, the Dutch got away from us; so that in the morning of the 21st we could not discover one ship more than our own, which were betwixt 40 and 50, the rest being scattered, and as many prizes as made 60 in all. We spent all this night and day, till twelve o'clock, in fitting of our ships, mast, and sails, for we were not capable to stir till they were replaced, at which time, being a windward tide, and the Dutch Fleet gone, we weighed and stood over to the English shore, fearing to stay longer upon the coast, it being a lee shore.

On the 22nd, in the morning, we were fair by the Isle of Wight, being the place whereunto we thought fit to repair for accommodation; but the wind blew so hard we could not get in that day.

The 23rd we weighed, and got near St. Helen's Road, and sent for all the Captains on board to understand the state of the Fleet; but it blowing hard we were not able to accomplish it, only recommended all the ships that were disabled to turn into Stokes Bay, and the rest remained about us.

The 24th we sent for all the Captains on board this ship, and ordered out two squadrons, one to ply to the eastward and the other to the westward of the Isle of Wight, the last of which sailed on the 25th present.

It hath blown so hard we have scarce been able to send our boats one from another, or do any thing until this day, that we got up to this place.

Thus, you see, how it hath pleased the Lord to deal with us poor instruments employed in the late transactions, wherein He hath delivered into our hands some 17 or 18 of their ships of war which have been taken by your Fleet (without the loss of any one ship save the *Sampson*) taken or destroyed, besides merchantmen, whose numbers we know not, they being scattered to several ports.

We have many men wounded, and divers both of honesty and worth slain.

We are, &c.,

ROBERT BLAKE.
RICHARD DEANE.
GEORGE MONK.

Several of the Dutch are driven ashore in France, *one* without any men at all in her.

The first letter written after the engagement was by General Deane, two days before the preceding official report. It was in reply to a demand from the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy for a particular account of the condition of the fleet.

This letter has never, to my knowledge, appeared in print; it elucidates some points not touched upon by the official despatches. The original is in the State Paper Office:—

GENTN.,

25 We received yours by John Poortmans, and for y^e particular account of y^e Fleet it is not possible to give you as yet, by reason of the blowing weather, and our distance one from another. Only y^e first day we came to an anchor we made the best observation of the Fleet as time would permit. All the ships that were lame and unserviceable we sent into Stooks Bay, and y^e Spithead, and those which were in any capacity to go to sea, we made them lye by us and fit as well as they could, and these are now all gone, being near twenty sail; the one half are under the command of Captain Durnford, appointed to ply to the westward as far as the Start, the other under Captain Hill, to ply between Fairlee and Bullin, and not to come to the westward of Portland. So that we hope, if there be any

ships straggling, they will meet with them. However, we have done as much as we can for the present, and shall endeavour to get as good an account of the rest as we can, but could wish you would not stay so long before you come down to us. We suppose three ships will bring all we need for masts, sails, and cordage, which whether it be better to send the same ships by piecemeals about to Chatham or supply them here, we leave you to judge. For my part, I heartily desire to see some of you down here, for there are many things to be done, which, except we have a meeting together forthwith, this affair is like to suffer. My partner not being present, but gone ashore somewhat feverish, I thought it needful to give you this brief account, which I desire you will accept.

Your most affectionate friend
and servant,

R. DEANE.

John Poortmans, mentioned in the above letter, was one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy at Portsmouth. He wrote, shortly afterwards, to the principal secretary :—

Clerk
Cheque

I have acquainted General Deane with what ships were to sail out of the river to the Fleet ; and he thinks they are most here. He seems to be very earnest for the Commissioners coming down to Portsmouth to consult about the present state of the Fleet here.

From these intimations it seems that the Generals had some things to say to the Commissioners which they either could not sufficiently explain by letter, or which they thought to be of too delicate a nature to be trusted to writing. The conduct of some of the officers of the fleet might not have given entire satisfaction to the Generals ; or, perhaps, the following letter from R. Coytmore to General Deane (received by him on the same day, Feb. 25th, that he wrote the above), may throw some light upon his meaning :—

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I am afraid that I am troublesome with your Honour with my frequent letters ; yet out of the respect and service I owe you, I cannot but report unto you such things as come into my mind. As in my letter last night I acquainted you with those ships of the West having to go for Newfoundland, by which means you will lose about 2,000 mariners, and I believe many that were on board your ships will run away to go with those ships, I am of opinion that you will find many Scots, Irish, and English among those seamen that you have taken. Whether it were not fitting to cause marshall law to be executed on some of them for example sake, and put them to fling the dice, that one out of them may suffer for it. For there hath passed one or two Acts of Parliament for their return home to serve the State, and not to serve any foreign State, upon the pain of death. I know you are troubled with many weighty affairs, which makes me take the boldness to mind you of these things.

I am,

Your Honour's most humble Servant,

ROB. COYTMORE.

25th February, 1653.

For ye Right Honourable Major-Gen^l. Deane,
On board the *Triumph*, or elsewhere, these present.

This letter is in the State Paper Office ; from which we may infer that, in the opinion of General Deane, it contained important matters. The Acts of Parliament alluded to, are noticed by Heath, Chron. p. 327, who says that all English seamen in the service of any foreign prince or state, were to return to England in forty days ; and that those who were in the East Indies, had twelve months allowed them for their return home ; and that “death without mercy” was ordered against all English *carpenters* and *shipwrights* on board enemies' ships, “*who were to be thrown overboard at sea, and never brought to shore.*”

It is possible that these might have been the orders privately given to captains of ships, but no *Act of Parliament* has come under my observation containing any such directions.

Robert Cotymore was an Admiralty clerk, and has left a great many letters behind him in the State Paper Office, tending to justify his own opinion of himself—that he was a “troublesome” fellow. He was a busybody, who seems always to have had an eye to his own interests. At the Restoration he appeared as a Crown witness against the Regicides, and identified Colonel Harrison as sitting on “*what they called*” the High Court of Justice. None would have been more forward than R. Cotymore himself to call it by the same name, if he had been asked by General Deane to define it. It does not appear that the Commissioners came down to Portsmouth, as desired by the Generals. But one of them, Sir Henry Vane, wrote a letter to General Deane, which must have been of some importance, from the trouble taken to deliver it by the messenger, who thus reports his proceedings to his employer :—

Southampton, March 1, 165 $\frac{1}{2}$.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

In obedience to your Honour's commands, I was at General Deane his lodgings with your letters, who was at that instant on board the *Triumph*, and, the water being rough, I could not procure a boat to carry them ; but his lady sent them in his own pinnace. Since which, coming to this place, I find near eleven hundred Dutch prisoners, whom I have carefully provided for, and nothing of the State's allowance have been wanting to them, neither, God willing, shall. I find among them about sixty sick and wounded men, who

have been placed under the care of chirurgeons and physicians of this place. . . .

I am, &c.

RIC. BELCHAMBERS.

To Sir Harry Vane, junior, Knt.,
a Member of the Parliament of
England, and Councillor of State,
at his lodgings at Whitehall,
humbly present.

The Mayor of Southampton was less pleased than Mr. Belchambers with the manner of quartering the Dutch prisoners upon the inhabitants. In a letter, March 3, he deprecates the leaving 1,200 prisoners under the charge of a single company of 50 men of Colonel Pride's regiment; and reminds the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy of what had happened in 1644, when two regiments of Lord Essex's defeated army were quartered, as prisoners, in Southampton. He says that they introduced a sickness into the town, which carried off at least 100 of the townpeople. He requests that some of the Dutch prisoners may be sent to Poole and the Isle of Wight.

Major Morford, the Commissioners' agent at Southampton, seconds the Mayor's remonstrance, saying that there are no accommodations for the prisoners except in tradesmen's houses; and that the town is small, and unfit for such a large number of prisoners.

III. THE DUTCH OFFICIAL REPORT.

ADMIRAL MARTIN HERBERT TROMP TO THE STATES GENERAL.

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,

. . . . This battle, which has lasted three days together, began the last of February, at nine o'clock in the morning, and ended not

till the 2nd of March,* when the night parted the combatants. It was given in the extent of sea that is between Holland and Swatness or Bullin. The English had about 69 or 70 sail of frigates and men-of-war, and we 70 men-of-war and 150 merchantmen. I cannot yet give your High Mightinesses all the particulars, because most of the captains hardly had time on the 1st of March to come on board the *Admiral*. They have informed me that *De Ruyter's* squadron, which fell upon the enemies' rear, took some ships from them, whilst several others on both sides were sunk. As for our vanguard, of which I had the command, with Rear-Admiral *Floriz*, we attacked that of the enemies, under the command of Blake. The fight was fierce and obstinate, and the victory very wavering, so that neither of the parties had any cause to brag of the advantage they had. This was the success of the first day's fight. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon, observing that the English had detached a squadron of their nimblest sailors to go and fall upon the merchant ships, with design to burn them, we quitted the fight to hasten to their assistance. After the action I sent for the general officers of the Fleet, *Evertz* and *De Ruyter* on board the *Admiral*, while *Floriz* was left to take care that the ships of the Fleet should be repaired that had need of it. We, therefore, consulted whether it should be advisable to leave our merchant ships to their shifts, to go and attack the enemy once more, since we were too weak to spare a detachment of men-of-war strong enough to convoy them; and, besides, we had some grounds to fear that the English might still have some body of reserve towards Calais; or whether it would not be better to defend them by making them keep closer by us, and so, in a fighting posture, to await the enemies charge. And because we were in want of powder, order was given to husband it well, and not to make one shot unprofitably.

We discovered to the eastward, at a good distance from us, the ship called the *Ostrich*, so terribly battered and disabled, that she had nothing left but her main and mizen sails; whereupon I ordered *De Wilde* to go and take her (in tow) and bring her to the Fleet.

As soon as we had got together all our ships, both men-of-war and merchantmen, we stood to the northward, and towards evening we had a great calm. *De Wilde*, not being able to bring

* The Dutch had adopted the *new style*.

off the *Ostrich*, the English carried her away the next day to their Fleet.

That day, about 10 o'clock, the enemy came and charged us again. They had posted in the wings of their Fleet five or six of their best ships, to endeavour to intercept some of our ships. We fought all that day till the dark of night. Captain *Le Sage*, of Zealand, and *Le Bruin*, and *Van Zeelst*, of Amsterdam, were separated from the Fleet.

Towards evening several Captains came and complained that they had not any ammunition left. Upon which, because I had on board the *Admiral* a great many bullets, eight-pounders, I distributed them among those that had guns of that bore. We still pursued our course, the wind at W.N.W., and every one endeavoured to repair their ships as well as it was possible.

On the 2nd of March the English attacked us again with a great deal of vigour, and we had hardly fought two hours but half our ships had spent all their ammunition. We fired some guns for a signal to them to come on board of us, which they did. I placed them in the main body of the Fleet, and charged them to make show, as if they wanted nothing; telling them that they which still had any ammunition should take care to defend them; so that I made shift to maintain the fight till night, defending them all that while with not above 25 or 30 ships, that were still provided with powder and bullets.

Two hours after, Blake, having assembled all his forces, made show as if he would fall upon us once more. When I saw that I took in my sails, and let him know I was ready to begin again with him. Upon which, after the vanguards of the two Fleets had charged one another for some time, the English at length sheered off to seawards, and Blake, being out of cannon shot, came no more at us.

Vice-Admiral *Evertz* coming then to me, told me they wanted powder and bullets. When night was come we hung out lanterns, being to leeward. Towards midnight we perceived Calais bearing S.W. of us, at about two miles distance, without seeing any English at all. I am persuaded they are retired towards the Isle of Wight to repair, and refit their ships.

(Signed) MARTIN HERPERTZ TROMP.

In comparing these English and Dutch official

reports, we are reminded of Sir Roger de Coverley's sagacious remark that on every disputed question "*much may be said on both sides.*" Having heard what can be said on both sides respecting the "battle of three days," we may not be far from the truth, if we assign the palm of victory to Blake, and that of seamanship to Tromp. The valour of the English has never been more distinguished than in the defence of the *Triumph* against her numerous assailants; and the skill of Tromp was conspicuous in getting so well out of the fight, and in saving so many of his convoy; for the largest number said to be taken was only *thirty* out of *one hundred and fifty*, and half of these were picked up by Vice-Admiral Penn, and his reinforcement of fifteen ships, which he brought up on the second day.* Most of those which he captured were small vessels, under 100 tons burden, laden with wine, vinegar, and salt. Two only were of any value—*viz.* of 400 tons each, laden with silver bars. They were all sent into Dover.

The total loss of the Dutch was set down at eleven men-of-war out of seventy-three, taken or destroyed; two thousand men killed, and fifteen hundred prisoners.† The English admitted the loss of one ship only, the *Sampson*, sunk by themselves, after it had been retaken from the enemy. They did not recognise as "taken" those which had been captured by De Ruyter on the first day, but had been afterwards recaptured. Tromp, plainly, but

* Life of Sir W. Penn, i. 479.

† Pictorial Hist. of England, iii. 409.

not confidently, says that “*some*” ships were taken by De Ruyter and others sunk by him. The latter may have been a mistake, and may refer to the “*Advice*” and “*Assistance*,” which were compelled to fall out of the action in a sinking state, and retreat into Portsmouth; as we have seen from Colonel Willoughby’s letter.

The conclusion of *Paul Hoste*, the French reporter of the battle, is, I think, a just one. He allows that the English had, from the beginning, the advantage over the Dutch, but he adds that “Tromp entered his ports with the glory of having, by his skill and valour, preserved for his country a rich convoy, which was on the point of becoming the prey of the English.”

Greater glory than this could hardly have been gained by any Admiral, not only so encumbered by merchant vessels under his convoy, but also so ill supported by some of his own captains. Had they all been equally true to their country and their commander, the result might have been much less to the honour of the English, who fought without any incumbrances.

IV.—PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE AND JOURNALS.

a. The wind being at N.W., Vice-Admiral Penn in the *Speaker*, as Admiral of the Blue, being ahead of the Generals Blake and Deane in the *Triumph*, began the fight with the wind on the starboard bow, and seeing the Dutch bend all their force to destroy the Generals, he, with his division, tacked and stood through the Dutch Fleet, with the wind on the larboard side; as Lawson, Vice-Admiral of the Red, did in the *Fairfax* with his larboard tack aboard, being

about a mile on the starboard quarter, and as much astern of the Generals, when the fight began; so as the main stress of the fight lay upon the Blue and Red divisions.*

b. In the great battle off the Sussex and Hampshire coasts the English Fleet of 41 sail attacked Van Tromp, who had 55. Blake and Deane in the *Triumph* fought nine hours in the middle of the enemy. Blake was wounded in the thigh by a bar of iron, which carried away part of the coat and breeches of Deane. The *Triumph* had 700 shots in her hull, and eighty killed and wounded, with her Captain Ball.†

c. Slain—that noble and approved soldier Captain Ball, and Captain Mildmay, and Captain Barker, who departed themselves with singular dexterity and courage; with our Secretary Sparrow, whose deaths are much lamented.‡

Mr. Granville Penn, to whom I am indebted for the preceding “Extracts,” observes that “it is very remarkable that the Generals of the Fleet should not have noticed in their despatch the deaths of these gallant and distinguished commanders.”

It does seem remarkable that, having mentioned the death of Captain Button, they should have omitted the names of Ball, Mildmay, Barker, and Sparrow (the Generals’ secretary). There may have been a reason for this, which I will endeavour to find out. It is observable that no mention is made in the official despatch of Blake’s wound or of the enormous loss of life in the Generals’ ship.

It may be a sufficient reason for these omissions that it was not customary in the despatches of those days to enter into minute details respecting indivi-

* Letter from an eye-witness on board the *Assurance*, cited in the Life of Sir W. Penn. *Appendix M.*

† Perfect Politician, Feb. 1653.

‡ Letter from an officer on board the *Eagle*. Life of Penn, i. 481.

duals. Every one was presumed to have done his duty, and the praise was always rendered to the Lord, who gave the victory. But, setting aside this ordinary "self-denying" principle, we may, I think, suggest another reason for the omission of two, at least, out of the four gallant officers who fell in these engagements. They were near of kin or affinity to RICHARD DEANE: *Sparrow* was his brother-in-law, having lately married his sister Jane, and *Mildmay* was related to, if not brother of, Robert Mildmay, the husband of one of the daughters of Sir Richard Deane, Lord Mayor of London in 1629, the great-uncle and first patron of the General! If, *as is very probable*, General Deane wrote the despatches, General Blake being wounded and unable to write them, he might think that to praise his own relatives was, indirectly, to glorify himself, and as Blake had, most likely, forbidden all mention of his own wound, Deane might have thought it a proper act of modesty to say nothing in a *public despatch* of the losses of their ship or the death of her gallant captain. By these omissions he consulted the feelings of his colleague and spared those of the public, leaving them to the first enjoyment of their victory without alloy.

We may regard these as mistaken views of duty or policy, but they were consistent with the characters of men who ascribed everything to the Lord and nothing to man.

The despatch, although signed by all the three Generals, could hardly have been written or even

have been dictated by Blake, who had gone on shore, "*feverish*"* from his wound, two days before, and was not likely to have been on board the *Triumph*, at Spithead, when the despatch was written, for he was not able to resume his duties for two months afterwards.

Monk, who also signs, had taken little or no part in the first day's action, being three miles astern with the White Division, and could not possibly come up much before night. He would hardly, therefore, attempt to describe the battle from the beginning. *Blake* and *Monk*, moreover, were men of classical education and taste, and the composition of the despatch is hard, dry, and unattractive, not such as scholars would have written, but exactly such as might have been written by a plain straightforward man of action like Richard Deane. The Generals' secretary, whose duty it probably was to draw up reports and despatches, was killed; the General-in-Chief was wounded and sick on shore; it follows then as highly probable that the official account of the three days' battle was written by General Deane, of whose simplicity and modesty it is a fair specimen, and no unfavourable one of his piety, for there is in this despatch much of the sound sense and nothing of the repulsive cant of the period.

* See Gen. Deane's Letter, *supra*.

IV. FROM THE "LIFE OF MARTIN HERBERT TROMP."

Translated from the Dutch. London, 1690.

The two Fleets were scarcely advanced within cannon-shot of one another, but Tromp tack'd about upon Blake, who presently began to play upon him with all his artillery, tho' without doing Tromp any great harm, because he was at such a distance from him. But this latter, forbearing to fire till he came within musket-shot of his enemy, let fly at him a broadside, and then tacking about nimbly, he fired a second at him on the same side, and then flanking him again on the other side thundered off a third at him with so great success that there were nothing but cries and groans to be heard on board of Blake, who fought after that only in retreating and sheering away as fast as he could from Tromp, who ceased not to pursue him.

[N.B. The Dutch biographer forgets to mention that Tromp had six ships with him besides his own, and that these seven surrounded and fell upon the *Triumph* at the same time. The *Triumph* did not "retreat" nor "sheer away," for the simple reason that she was disabled, having received 700 shots in her hull, and lost her captain and 80 men. She was towed out of action by Lawson, Vice-Admiral of the Red, the General's division, who came up to her aid in the *Fairfax*, while the Blue division, under Penn, with the remainder of the Red, was giving a good account of Tromp's Vice-Admiral.]

After this *prælude* the two Fleets intermixing one with the other, the battle grew so furious that there was little else to be seen but masts overtuned into the sea, and splinters flying on all sides, sails rent in pieces, and masts and cables cut short in sunder. In one moment the enemy was boarding our ships, and in a moment after were chased off again, when they were seen to be blown up into the air, with the deck they stood upon; and on another side was seen a ship swallowed up by the waves, with several hundreds of men, and the sea turned red with human blood, and covered over with dead bodies, and floating pieces of shattered ships, which yet, instead of dismaying the combatants, served only to inflame their courage the more, and flush them on the more cruelly to mutual and

implacable slaughter ; and the complaints and lamentations of the miserable wounded wretches, instead of mollifying their hearts with any sentiment of pity, and inspiring them with abhorrence for such cruelty, rendered them but the more bloody minded, and the more violently excited them to fiercer and remorseless revenge The Lord Admiral Tromp pierced through and through the English Fleet, which took up about a mile in extent, thundering at all that opposed his passage.

Captain *Konik* signalized himself every way, for his ship, called the *Ostrich*, fought on still some time longer against several English ships, sunk one of them, and defended herself so long as she had any men left ; but, at last, the valiant Tromp, observing she had lost all her masts and rigging to the very hull, and was ready to sink, " Is it possible," cried he to his followers, " that there should be any Captain in the States Fleet so cow-hearted * as to suffer so brave a man to be overwhelmed by numbers ?" And gave order at the same time to De Wilde to go and rescue him. In pursuance of which De Wilde had already fastened a hawser to his ship to tow him away, but the calm hindered him, so that all he could do was only to save some of the seamen, who threw themselves on board of him whilst the *Ostrich* was left swimming, in a manner as much in blood as water ; and especially upon the deck there was nothing to be seen but a most horrible spectacle of dead and wounded men, there being reckoned eighty of the former ; and of forty young men of Scheidam, all under 20 years of age, there were but three left alive. The English had already boarded her to pillage her, but being afraid she would sink under them they quitted her, till the same enemies finding her again the next day, without a soul in her, they carried her to Portsmouth. 1c

Captain *Port*, having attacked a great English man-of-war, sunk him ; but two more falling upon him a moment after, he received several shot between wind and water, which obliged him to call *Swers* to his assistance, who presently advanced to the head of *Port*, whilst the two Englishmen were battering both his sides. And so, the four ships being grappled to one another, *Port's* ship was overturned, together with one Englishman, but most of the men were saved by *Swers*. At the same time *Port* was cruelly wounded in the reins by a splinter, and was seen, though thrown down on his back 1s

* Hence " Coward ?"

on the deck, waving his hanger to the last, and to encourage his men, till the waves swallowed up both him and his ship. *Swers* likewise, on his part, had so severely handled an English ship that had attacked *Port*, that he also was sunk; but almost at the same time his own ship was attacked by four other English, and sunk. He and some of his men were saved by the enemies and carried to London after the fight, but understanding the Spanish tongue he made himself pass for a natural Spaniard, so that shuffling himself in amongst the domestic servants of the Spanish ambassador, he found means to get a passage into Flanders, and from thence to his true country. This was the same *Swers* that was afterwards made Vice-Admiral of Holland, of the college of the Admiralty of Amsterdam, and who gave signal marks of his courage and ability.

Captain *Kleidyk*, of the *Brill*, received at almost one and the same time the fire of three great English men-of-war, and being already reduced to a very pitiful condition, *Regemoster*, a Zealand captain, came to his aid, and cleared one of the sides; then *Kleidyk* began to take a little breath, and sunk one of the English ships that lay against the other side of him, but soon after his own ship underwent the same fate; yet he saved himself and his men after a most wonderful manner; for throwing themselves into the English ship that lay against the side of *Regemoster*, they leapt at the same moment from there on board of *Regemoster*, who was just then killed with 30 or 40 of his men. *Kleidyk* being then got thither took the command of the ship, and spoke with so much courage to his people, that they began to fire afresh at the English ship, and that with so much success that it was disabled, and soon after buried in the deep.

Captain *Munich's* ship of Amsterdam was taken about the same time, and towards evening they burnt her.

Captain *Aart van Ness*, following close after *Tromp*, found himself in the midst of the enemies, where he gave signal proofs of his undaunted courage. He would have grappled an English ship that had the disadvantage of the wind, but she, letting fly at him a broadside, made him glad to sheer off. After which he attacked another, which he furiously battered. He fought at the same time against the two English Vice-Admirals of the Blue and White flags; and afterwards, when he saw *De Ruyter* surrounded by four or five English men-of-war, he flew in like lightening to his assistance, with Captain *Balk*, in which place they fought, on both sides,

with an inconceivable obstinacy, till at last the English letting go their hold tacked to the West, and then *Van Ness* turned his to the East, because all his cartridges being discharged he wanted respite to charge new ones, besides that his foremast was so shattered there was no piecing it up again.

Rear-Admiral *Floriz* was for a good while inclosed by six English ships, and fought valiantly till Tromp came and rescued him. *De Wilde* and the other Captains, *Vanderzaen*, *Kemper*, &c., signalized themselves. Likewise Captain *Scholte Wiglemo*, after a long fight, was blown up into the air with all his men. Some say that being grappled by two English ships, and seeing no hopes of saving himself, he had the courage, with his own hands, to set fire to his powder, that he might destroy the enemies at the same time that he was going to perish himself.* There were likewise some other ships on both sides that were sunk.

About four o'clock in the afternoon TROMP was much surprised to see twenty-six of his Captains desert the Admiral's flag and retire out of the fight, whilst, on the other side, several of the best English frigates were detached to go and fall upon the merchant ships, which were under the protection of his squadron. It was presumed that the English intended to unmast them; that not being able to follow the main fleet, they might with the more ease make themselves masters of them. But TROMP took care to prevent the enemies' design by speeding to their assistance, and chasing from them the English frigates. This first day's fight ended not till night.

It was found that TROMP had made that day 800 cannon shot from his ship alone, and one single brass gun that was towards the poop had been discharged 70 times. The Holland Fleet wandered about here and there, during the obscurity of the night, every vessel endeavouring to repair, each one their respective damages, and to recover themselves into a condition to maintain a second fight.

The next day, being the 1st of March (19 February O. S.) Admiral TROMP put up a white flag, and called together on board him the principal officers of the Fleet, and exhorted them to acquit themselves worthily of the duty they owed to their country, and to fight like men of honour and courage. The English followed them

* This is quite credible ; it has been often done by the Dutch.

close at the heels, and the battle began again the next day at 10 o'clock in the morning, about three miles to the N.W. of the Isle of Wight. The English had the wind, but coming near them, we could not find they had any inclination to come to a close fight, they contenting themselves only with shooting at our masts, sails, and rigging, as they had done the day before. TROMP had drawn up his fleet into the form of a crescent, the better to protect the merchant ships, and the English came up six several times to endeavour to cut off those ships from the main body of the Fleet, but were always repulsed.

TROMP was ravished with joy to see some of his captains fight that day more courageously than they had done the day before. Captain *Van Ness* kept so close to TROMP that he could easily call him to his assistance in case of need. *De Ruyter* also gave upon this occasion new proofs of his bravery, for after he had received his orders from the Admiral, he engaged so far among the thickest of the enemies, that he was many times in danger of being oppressed by them; and after noon he was so grievously battered that he was not able to move either forward or backward; upon which TROMP commanded Captain *Duin* to assist *De Ruyter* to get off and go out of the battle. Almost at the same time the Admiral was informed that the merchant ships were standing to S.S.E., upon which Captain *Van Ness* was detached away to command them by TROMP's order to stand N.N.E. in order to make towards the straits of Calais. *Van Ness* performed his commission, and bid them at the same time clap on more sail; but happening to come too late, and they having neglected the orders given them, the English took their opportunity to snap up some part of the Fleet, together with two men-of-war, of which they made themselves masters, of which one that was commanded by *Le Sage* yielded not until after a very stout resistance. Of the merchant ships there were 12 taken, others were defended by the men-of-war, and part of them saved themselves in Havre de Grace, as likewise did two of the men-of-war that had lost their masts. At the coming on of night one English ship took fire, and there the fight ended.

The next morning, at break of day, the English were seen to come on again to charge them, upon which TROMP, having put all things in order for that purpose, advanced towards the enemies' Fleet, with more courage and resolution than any forces he had to fight them. For, at most, he had but one poor squadron under his

2^c

12 m.s

flag that had any ammunition left, whilst the rest were unprovided of all things. At 10 of the clock in the morning the fleets came up with one another and commenced a third battle, which was very obstinate and bloody, yet without any great advantage to the enemies. The English Vice-Admiral of the Blue braved for sometime the Dutch Admiral, thundering continually at him with his guns; but he forbearing to fire until he came up almost close to his side, gave him first one broadside and after that another, so much to the purpose, that he was forced to retire.

But whilst on one side the valiant TROMP signalised himself, many of his Captains basely deserted him on the other, and betook themselves to a shameful flight; besides others that were constrained to it by pure necessity, for want of powder.

Towards evening the English took some more of our merchant ships. Captain *Van Ness*, at the beginning of the fight, advertised them by order from the Admiral, to clap on all the sail they could, and make towards the straits of Calais; but those orders were neglected. TROMP sent to them the Fiscal or Treasurer of his Fleet, to press them to make more haste, but all in vain; it being impossible with all that could be said or done, to make them go forward, so that many of the enemies' frigates appearing in the evening came and fell upon the main body of that Fleet. *Van Ness* did all he was able to defend them, but they falling into confusion and disorder, one part of them blindly threw themselves among the enemies' men-of-war, whilst the others, falling foul of one another, knocked themselves to pieces, and the Dutch men-of-war that were there could give them no assistance for want of powder, so that a considerable part of those merchant ships fell into the hands of the English. ms

At the approach of night, Blake made a show as if he would have come on again to charge the Dutch Fleet, but Admiral TROMP keeping himself in posture ready to stand the shock, the English Admiral retired, steering his course towards the coasts of England, whilst the States' Fleet made sail quietly, without being pursued, towards the coasts of Flanders, and came to an anchor on the 3rd of March, within three miles N.W. of Dunkirk, from whence they got into the harbours of Holland and Zealand.

These three successive battles, as the Dutch would needs flatter themselves, cost very near as dear to the English as the Dutch. It is true the Hollanders confess that they lost 24 merchant ships, 24m

4^c
3^o 1⁶
but the English reported them in London to be above *forty*!* These Dutch men-of-war, viz., the *Great St. Luke*, the *Ostrich*, the *Amity*, and the *Golden Cock*, were taken and carried into Plymouth and Dover. The *Crown*, the *Angel Gabriel*, and the ship of *Kleidyk*, were sunk, and that of *Scholte Wiglemo* blown up. Among the Captains that were killed were reckoned *Balk*, *Van Zaanem*, *Port*, *Alart*, *Spanhem*, *Sipke Fokkes*, and *Regemoster*. *Schey*, *Van Zcelst*, and *Swers* were made prisoners. The number of men killed was about 600,† and that of the wounded somewhat more. De Ruyter having lost all his masts, and most part of his men, was forced to retire before the end of the battle.

On the side of the English the *Reindeer*, the *Saturn*, the *Sampson*, the *Rose*, and Captain Button's ship,‡ was sunk, and the *Charles* burnt, as was likewise the frigate called the *Fairfax*,§ but that was done by the English themselves because she was not in a condition to be made fit for service again. The *Marmaduke*, the *Merlin*, the *Pheasant*, the *King David*, the *Greyhound*, and the *Seven Brothers* were so miserably battered that they have never appeared at sea since.

The Admiral, the two Vice-Admirals, and the Rear-Admiral had likewise no reason to boast of any better treatment. De Ruyter took from them the ship called *Prosperity*. The number of men killed and wounded of the English, according to the accounts given in Holland, amounted to about 2,000 seamen and soldiers, among which are reckoned the Captains *Mildmay*, *Barker*, *Ball*, *Kirby*, *Hall*, *Dakers*, *Broadbridge*, *Jeffrew*, and *Button* killed, and *Back*, *Day*, *Tadnal*, *Lawson*, and some others, wounded, to which they add that the number of the maimed was very considerable.

V. The author of the *Life of Tromp* proceeds to cite a letter purporting to have been written by an officer on board Admiral Blake's flagship, who was in the action, in which several circumstances are mentioned (or invented) which are not to be found

* The true number was *thirty*.

† The English say 2,000, which must be nearer the mark from the sanguinary nature of the battles.

‡ The "*Sampson*" already mentioned.

§ Accidentally burnt in harbour after her return to port.

in the other accounts. This letter, if a forgery, is conceived in a better spirit than forgeries generally are, for it is written in a good and right spirit, on which account it may, *possibly*, be genuine. *Valeat quantum valeat.*

The almighty power of God, in which we put all our trust, hath given his servant real marks of his blessing, by the defeat of the formidable fleet of Holland, we having beaten them in three successive battles, given three several days, one after another, so that a great number of prisoners are fallen into our hands. The others are dispersed, and part of them chased into places out of reach of the pursuit of the victors.

Ever since the 10th of this month God hath given us assured presages of his assistance by sending us favourable winds. Our fleet was right against Portland. . . . Scarcely were the two adverse fleets met but they engaged in battle. We had, at first, the disadvantage, because the enemies had the weather gage, and that the major part of our best ships could not come up to us, which was the cause that our Admiral's ship, the *Triumph*, was forced all that day to endure the greatest fire of the enemy, while the others, at the same time, were in no less peril. But God was our sovereign protector, for though our ship had already lost half her men, yet the courage of the rest gave us still great hopes, and much allayed our grief for the loss of the others. But more could not be expected of them than it pleased God they should do, and which our enemies, doubtless, experienced.

The first day we took from them three Rear-Admirals* and one Vice-Admiral, and a little after we sunk them three ships. The others are now at Portsmouth.

The second day we burnt or sunk eight or ten more of them. The third day they began to give way, and take themselves to flight.

Their losses are so much the greater and more feasible in that we took from them above forty men-of-war and merchant ships. We boarded them in the sight of Tromp, he not being able to oppose us. Captain Lawson grappled a great ship and took her, but he

* Qu. Ships belonging to the squadrons of the Rear and Vice-Admirals?

was much battered. Martin and Gayer took also two ships, so that we have taken several. We have lost several officers recommendable for their merit and valour, as likewise five or six masters of the first rank, much lamented for their good conduct and great fidelity, besides a great many other brave men that were in the fleet. But we have lost never a ship, except one, which we sunk ourselves.

Our Admirals behaved themselves with an unexampled bravery. Admiral Blake was wounded in the thigh, but we hope he will not be much incommoded by it. He could hardly be persuaded to go down into the ship to be drest, and never quitted his post during the whole fight. In fine, we observed that every day, so long as the battle lasted, the arm of the Almighty God favoured our arms, being bound to acknowledge that 'tis He that gives the victory, and not the great number of ships or the strength of armies.

Other accounts say that Blake's wound was in the *neck*. The *thigh* is more probable, from the fact that the same bar of iron, which is said to have caused the wound, cut away at the same time a part of the breeches of General Deane, who was standing by Blake on the quarter-deck at the time.

VI. A FRENCH ACCOUNT OF THE THREE DAYS' BATTLE.

By *Paul Hoste*.*

Battle of Portland.

The English had seventy ships of war under the command of Admiral Blake, and the Dutch had as many, and were convoying 200 merchantmen richly laden. The two fleets met in sight of Portland, and the English used every effort to bring on an engagement. The Dutch had the wind, and it appeared that they ought to avoid a battle in which they should hazard their convoy ; nevertheless, Admiral Tromp, considering that if the wind should change he should be obliged to fight with less advantage, resolved to bear

* Taken from the "Life of Sir W. Penn, i. 483.

down on the enemy, after having placed his convoy to windward. He then divided his fleet into three squadrons, and attacked the English with great resolution. These received him with the utmost vigour, and the battle became very sanguinary. Many ships were disabled, or sunk or fired; and nothing was able to separate two enemies so furiously excited but the darkness of the night, during which both parties prepared themselves to renew the combat, which had remained undecided. But the English received a reinforcement of sixteen ships of war, and the wind, having changed, gave them all the advantage they could desire. Admiral Tromp found himself exceedingly perplexed, and after many deliberations he determined to retreat. He drew up his fleet in a half-moon, and put his convoy in the middle, that is to say, that his own ship formed, to windward, the obtuse angle of the half-moon, and the rest of his fleet extended on each side, on the two lines nearest to the wind, to form the faces or fronts of the half-moon which covered the convoy. In this order he proceeded with the wind right astern, thundering to the right and left on all the English that approached to insult his wings, and he would have entirely preserved his convoy if some of his own ships had not, in a dastardly manner, abandoned their stations. The English frigates hereupon entered the openings which these cowardly deserters had made in the fronts of the floating half-moon, and carried off some merchantmen, which obliged Admiral Tromp to put himself again in order of battle, and he continued to fight till night, which gave him time to renew the order of retreat. He was pursued the following day by the English, but after having sustained some volleys of cannon he entered his ports, with the glory of having, by his valour and skill, preserved for his country a rich convoy, which was on the point of becoming the prey of the enemy.

The Frenchman's account seems clear and candid. His conclusion is that to which every unprejudiced mind must arrive. The Dutch were defeated in every day's action, but the glory of the three days was divided between the combatants; to Blake and his brave supporters was due the prize of superior strength and valour, and to Tromp

and his captains the naval crown of those who had saved the honour of their country.

It is remarkable that no two accounts agree as to the number of ships engaged. According to the Dutch official despatch they had 70 against the English 69. The English official letter omits to mention the number of the English men-of-war, and sets down the Dutch at 80. An English newspaper says 41 English against 55 Dutch; Colliber, 66 and 70; and Paul Hoste, who writes impartially, says 70 each, which may be taken as the approximate number. But we have no clue to what is much more important, viz., the number of *guns* and *weight* of metal; the former being probably (as was usually the case) in favour of the Dutch and the latter of the English.

VII. ENGLISH NAVAL HISTORY.

Colliber's *Columna Rostrata*, p. 112, &c.

A great fleet of Dutch merchant ships lying at the Isle of Rhé, and not daring to pass the Channel without a sufficient convoy, the enemies fleet of men-of-war, consisting of eighty sail (or at least seventy, as the Dutch relate it), was sent to open them a passage in spite of the English. To oppose this design, the English Fleet of sixty-six; under the command of *Blake*, *Deane*, and *Monk*, was sent to the westward, and meeting the enemies Fleet on their return (being divided into four squadrons, under *Tromp*, *De Ruyter*, *John Evertsen*, and the Admiral * of the north quarter). they came to an engagement on the 18th of February, 1653, at eight in the morning. The Dutch following their course up the Channel, with the advantage of the wind (as their historians affirm), began the fight; the rather because only a part of the English were as yet come up.

* *Floriz*.

Agreeably to which, the English writers relate, that *Blake* and *Deane*, in the *Triumph*, being advanced before the rest of the Fleet, with no more than 12 ships, sustained a sharp fight, near six hours, against above thirty of the enemies, till at last they were bravely relieved by *Lawson*. On this occasion, *Blake* himself was wounded in the thigh, his ship was so shattered, and his men murdered to such a degree, that the *Triumph* could have no share in the victories of the following days. But when the rest of the English Fleet came up, then happened the most furious and bloody engagement that had been seen during the course of the war. In short, the Dutch were pressed so vigorously, that our authors confess that twenty of their best ships turned tail about four o'clock, and left the rest to the fury of the English, who thereupon (as the best English writers relate), took or sunk six or seven men of-war, one of which was a flagship. The Dutch histories speak likewise of one commanded by Captain *Wighman* (*Wiglemo*) which blew up, and another that was burnt. Most of *Tromp's* officers (as the writer of his life confesses) were killed in this fight, and his ship much disabled, having been, at the beginning, a considerable time closely engaged with *Blake*, till seasonably relieved by a ship that interposed between the two Admirals. *De Ruyter*, having lost his mainmast and foretopmast, was in great danger of being taken, but was bravely relieved by *Evertsen*.

The English, on the contrary, lost but one ship (the *Sampson*), which, being quite disabled, they sunk themselves. The ship *Prosperous* had been taken by *De Ruyter* after a hard fight; but while *De Ruyter* was himself in danger of the same fate, she was retaken.

The following night was spent in repairing the damage, and making the necessary dispositions for a second engagement, which, though many of the English could not come up, was begun the next day, about three leagues to the N.W. of the Isle of Wight. *Tromp* had rallied his Fleet, and ranged it in the form of a half-moon, inclosing the merchant ships within a semicircle, and in that posture he maintained a retreating fight. The English made several desperate attacks, striving to break through to the merchant ships, on which occasion *De Ruyter's* ship was again so roughly treated, that she was towed out of the Fleet. At last the merchantmen, finding that they could be no longer protected, began to shift for themselves, throwing part of their goods overboard, for the greater expe-

dition. . . . Eight men-of-war and fourteen or sixteen merchantmen were taken, and the fight continued until night set bounds to the victory of the English. On the third day the Dutch, continuing their course towards their own coast, and the English pursuing, the fight was renewed with great bravery on both sides. Three Dutch men-of-war were taken by Lawson, Martin, and Graver, and many merchantmen by Penn and others, but ammunition failing, and the Dutch being almost got within protection of their sounds, the English gave up the chase.

VIII. The official report of this great battle was received in London with tumultuous rejoicings. A day of general thanksgiving was appointed; troops of horse escorted the prisoners from the several ports at which they were landed on the south coast to London, amidst the ringing of bells in every parish through which they passed.* A subscription was raised at the recommendation and after the example of the Parliament, by whom pensions were voted to the widows and children of those that had fallen.

The effects of this victory was felt at the extremity of Scotland. *Mercurius Politicus* of March 17 says:—

The late blow given to the Dutch at sea hath stricken all as dead as herrings in the north of this nation, and their correspondents and well wishers are become very mute and temperate in the lowlands.

The Hollanders, on the other hand, were by no means dismayed, for they no less confidently declared that “the action did not pass altogether so much to the advantage of the English, that they

* Life of Tromp.

ought to attribute to themselves all the glory of it, since, excepting the merchant ships that fell into their hands, the Dutch have not much less right to claim the victory." *

It was, in fact, an action equally honourable to the endurance of both nations. Tromp, with an enormous convoy under his charge, had to fight under great disadvantages. A more military or less commercial nation than Holland would not have very severely condemned him if he had cast all the merchant ships adrift, and fought it out regardless of their fate. But had he done so, and even gained a decisive victory at this cost, he would have received scant welcome on his return home, and it would not have been surprising if he had been disgraced for his greater regard to the glory than to the commerce of his country. As it was, he went as far as man could go to save both.

IX. The account of this great battle is incomplete without some inquiry into the manner in which the sick and wounded were treated on shore, and of the provision made for the widows and children of those that had fallen, for such matters belong to the civilization of our country.

There were in those days no naval hospitals at the sea ports, and no regular staff of naval surgeons on shore. Every ship of war had, indeed, a "chirurgion," who had more than enough to do on board his own ship, for he often acted as chaplain

* Life of Tromp, p. 119.

as well as doctor, but there was no proper provision against casualties. Whenever an extraordinary emergency arose official notice was sent by the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy to the Master and Wardens of the Company of Barber Surgeons of London, who issued their mandate to the Livery of their Guild, who were, at that time, all medical men, to answer the demand, and the requisite number of chirurgeons was forthwith dispatched to Portsmouth, or any other port where they were wanted, to be employed under the direction of the London surgeon acting *pro hac vice* as Surgeon-General of the Navy.* After the sanguinary battles of February 18, 19, 20, commonly called "*the Battle of Portland*," the number of sick and wounded seamen was very great; it is not possible even to approximate to the true number, for there are no official returns extant, if any were ever sent to the authorities in London. The Dutch set down the English loss in killed and wounded at 2,000, which is probably not beyond the truth, for the contests on the first two days were of the most desperate character, and *at least* 3,000 must have been killed or wounded in the two fleets. Many must have been blown up or drowned of whom no account was taken. One Dutch ship, with all her crew, was blown up. Of the crews of two others that were sunk only *seven* men were picked up. The English also lost ships and men, who went down in them. The *Triumph* lost 80 killed

* See S. P. O. Order of July 7, 1653.

and wounded, and there could not have been a single ship on either side which did not sustain a heavy loss in men. If therefore we set down 500 killed and 1,500 wounded on each side we shall, I think, be within the mark.

I have been fortunate enough to find in the Correspondence in the State Paper Office several letters which throw considerable light on the question. Two from Dr. Whistler, the chief physician sent down from London to superintend the temporary hospitals at Portsmouth, will be interesting, especially in reference to the condition of General Blake after his wound.

1. DR. WHISTLER TO SIR HENRY VANE, JUN.

RT. HONOURABLE,

In pursuance of your order, whereby you authorized me to take the general care of the sick and wounded men here on shore, and in the parts adjacent, I thought fit to inform myself first of the condition of them, and finding many healed almost, or slightly wounded, accounted it safe for them, and less chargeable to the publick, to return them to their ships, where salt meat will not do more hurt than strong drink will do here. Others, whose wounds would be in the most probable prognostick of art of long cure, or if short, yet so as to leave them useless for want of limbs in present service, I thought expedient for them, and less expense to the Commonwealth, that they were sent to London, to be disposed of in the hospitals or otherwise, as your honours shall think fit. There are thirty-two sent up in four waggons; a list of their names is here inclosed. The sick men of the Fleet increase daily, whom *General Deane* has ordered to be quartered in Farum (Fareham), because this town is full already of wounded men, notwithstanding its double evacuation. But there is some malignity in the sick that might endanger this place, being a garrison, for which cause that place (Fareham) is thought more proper for the Fleet to unload themselves of their sick.

General Blake mends but slowly, which detains me here, waiting for an opportunity of his desired firmer recovery, as also to see these new sick men provided for as to all accommodations for their recovery. So with my service and respect presented,

I am,

Your Honour's

Most faithful humble Servant,

DANIEL WHISTLER.

Portsmouth, March 16, 1653.

2. DR. WHISTLER TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE NAVY.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I find, in pursuance of my trust in relation to the general care of the sick and wounded men here, so great a difficulty of right accommodating them with means suitable for their safe and speedy recovery in respect of their scattered quarters, that I account it my duty, not only by way of apology for past miscarriages, if there hath not been so much done as could be wished, but also for the prevention of the like in future upon such another occasion, to represent that it were very desirable, some one place, capacious and well situated in respect of air, water, and conveniences of landing were procured to remove these inconveniences following—as the exposing sick and wounded men long in the open ground in expectation of quarters before they are received into any house; and then the long being in that house before notice given to the physicians and chirurgeons. Also the difficulty of sufficient visiting them after notice by physicians, chirurgeon, and apothecary. The want of leisure and medicine timely, which should be in readiness aforehand in store, the supply of both from London after present occasion being too slow a remedy. Besides the difficulty and charge otherwise of ordering their diet and nursing, the thronging of weak men into poor shifting houses, the temptations of drinking inordinately in victualling houses who have no other but strong drink, and that at such extraordinary times of want new and wholesome water, especially in this place, where the water is brackish. Besides, the expense of one man scattered, if to the satisfaction of his host, is so much as would suffice two in the hospital.

I understand by letter from Doctor Prujean and Doctor Bates that the Council, upon these or better reasons, are in consideration of erecting an hospital here about, and that Portchester was named

as convenient, which upon view I found it likewise so for situation, and for air and water healthful, but whether it may not cost as much to repair an old ruinous, as well as to build a new house, I refer to the judgment of the surveyor in architecture.

General Blake, I hope, mends, but I am check'd from too presumptuous prognostick by that maxim, "*de senibus non temerè sperandum.*" It is the prerogative of the Great Physician in Heaven to presage life or death according to His sacred decree, a ray of whose allseeing knowledge appears but dimly to us through narrow cranies of conjectural guesses. That His protection, who is Omnipotent as well as Omniscient, may be on him and you, and all public instruments of our safety, is the hearty prayer of

Your Honours' most faithful and humble Servant,

DANIEL WHISTLER.

Portsmouth, March 21, 1653.

In reference to the subject of the above there is a *postscript* to one of these letters of Generals Deane and Monk to the Commissioners of the Navy, dated April 1st, which confirms its principal parts, viz., the great sickness prevailing in the Fleet at Portsmouth and the want of a proper hospital there: "The sickness increaseth daily on ship and on shore, and the places adjacent will not contain them. We could heartily wish you would think of some convenient place for them. Porchester hath been offered as a fit place, but no answer has been returned."

The Commissioners returned no answer because, probably, they thought with Dr. Whistler that the restoration of the old Castle of Porchester would be too expensive an undertaking and that a new building would be preferable. This new building was put off from time to time until the year 1746, when Haslar Hospital was founded.

The provision for the maimed and widows was not on a very liberal scale, but as liberal probably as the pecuniary means of the Government permitted. Widows had £8 or £10, according to the number of their children, but it does not appear whether this was a sum down or an annual pension. John Fowler, the "Advocate of the Fleet," who was wounded in the next great battle, June 2, 1653, received £40 in one sum for his wounds, which in the following October was increased to £65 "in consequence of the severity of his wounds." To the widow of a midshipman with two children, £30 was given; of a lieutenant, £40; of a lieutenant with five children, £50.*

* S. P. O.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CONDITION OF THE FLEET.—CORRESPONDENCE OF THE GENERALS WITH THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY AND NAVY.—INVASION OF THE PARLIAMENT BY CROMWELL. DISMISSAL OF OBSTRUCTIVE MEMBERS.—THE “DECLARATION OF THE GENERALS AT SEA.”—SAILING OF THE FLEET UNDER DEANE AND MONK.—DEFEAT OF BLAKE BY TROMP.—CRITICAL CONDITION OF ENGLAND.

I. BLAKE, finding his wound troublesome, landed at Portsmouth, where he remained under medical treatment for some weeks, leaving the command of the Fleet to *Deane* and *Monk*, who hoisted the flag of the Generals on board the *Resolution*; but that noble ship was far from being ready for sea, for on the 10th of March 136 pressed men and volunteers were put on board, and on the 21st we read that “The *Resolution* hath sails to yards; about Friday they intend to sail, *if powder can be got.*”*

On the 9th of April she was still unprepared. Whether from want of practice or through the confusion naturally consequent upon the simultaneous return of so many shattered ships and wounded seamen to port, the storekeepers and others had become bewildered under the sudden pressure—everything seemed to be in arrear. The difficulties of the Generals in getting the Fleet properly supplied may be inferred from the following correspon-

* S. P. O.

dence of Generals *Deane* and *Monk*,* especially from their second letter to the Council of State :—

1. GENERALS DEANE AND MONK TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

GENTLEMEN,

In our last we gave you an account that we ordered Vice-Admiral Penn for the service according to the Council of State's command. He was then under sail, but it proved then and since so little wind, that he could not get out of the bay. This morning there is a fine breeze at N.W. He is making the best use of it to get out to sea.

You will herewith receive an account of the number of ships sailed with him, as also their names; how manned and victualled, and how the rest that are here are disposed of, and how many remain. You will likewise hear from the Commissioners (as they inform us) in what posture affairs stand here, in point of victuals and munition, to fit the remaining part that is now in this port, as also what men are wanting, whereby timely provision may be made for supply of what is needful. We hope you are mindful of pilots, as was desired in our last, and that now you will see that the fleet that goeth eastward is provided as to men and victuals. We pray you to take special care for their speedy supply in the service.

All diligence should be used to fit us for a conjunction as soon as may be; for this dividing, if it could be avoided, is not very desirable. You having the intelligence at the Council of State, we shall not take upon us to say much concerning it, especially considering what a fair warning you have had of late, out of the Straights.† Captain John Browne is now almost well, and offereth to go to sea with us, but by reason the Swiftsure will not be ready these two months, we desire that he may have the Unicorn, and Captain Strong may stay for the Swiftsure; for, Browne being desirous to go along with us, we are very willing to have him, having had good experience of his ability, honesty, and courage.

We are, your very affectionate friends and servants,

RI. DEANE,
GEO. MONK.

April 1, 1653.

* S. P. O.

† The defeat of Captain Bodily.

Postscript.—The sickness continueth daily on ship and on shore, and the places adjacent will not contain the sick. We could heartily wish that you would think of some convenient place for them. Porchester hath been offered as a fit place, but no answer returned.

2. GENERALS DEANE AND MONK TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

GENTLEMEN,

We have yours of the 2^d instant, and do herewith send some commission according to your desire, and shall send you more as soon as they are ready.

We are sorry to hear that mariners come in so slow with you, and to find the like effects here, although your Commissioners of the Navy inform us that they have done their utmost. It is somewhat strange to us, when the service is at such a point, there cannot be such employed as may find out seamen, when we are credibly informed by some ships come from the West, that there are above a thousand gone to Newfoundland out of Dartmouth. If men come not, we know not how to get out the Fleet. We are constantly troubled (as we formerly wrote to you) with the seamen about our doors, for paying the tickets of such as were turned over from one ship to another at Queensborough, pretending they had lost their clothes in the last fight; which indeed many of them have; others shot and torn; and having run in debt for washing their linen, are not in a capacity to go to sea. And we profess the equity of their desires is such that we know not what to answer them, having given orders to the respective captains to take their tickets and carry them to the Commissioners to get them signed, which they do, and deliver none but to such as they are assured will not go away, and receive the money of others themselves, allowing them some to buy necessaries, and keeping the rest so long till they are engaged to the service. But notwithstanding our care, you have renewed your commands to the Commissioners here to pay no more, but to sick and wounded men, which seemeth to us as ready a way of losing men and hindering the present manning of the Fleet as could be imagined. For if those who are sick (being many) shall be looked after at the State's charge, and have their tickets paid, it is likely but few of them will

return; and if you discharge them when you see them ashore, you may be confident you shall see them no more, and many will be sick to gain the opportunity.

We have a letter from the Treasurer of the Navy to the Commissioners here, who writes he has given orders to his deputy not to pay any more tickets, whereby nothing is left to the discretion of the Commissioners upon the place, so that when we recommend things of that nature to their consideration, which seems to be advantageous to the service, and, in some cases, of absolute necessity for support of those who shall be employed, they answer us, "*They have no power!*"

We think it neither reason nor conscience to compel men to go who must perish for want of clothes, having formerly lost them in the service; nor yet when their families are ready to starve, as they tell us, and have money due from the State and their tickets signed, and their captains satisfied they will not run away, all which is very much to prejudice the present carrying on of affairs here, and therefore we have thought it needful to offer it to your consideration, and also desire your speedy answer to the Commissioners of the Navy.

For arms for the soldiers, you know the proportion designed for every ship, and so can best judge whether it be fit they should leave them behind, though it is probable some might be spared, yet not the whole.

Yesternight came in the Sampson and the Marmaduke into the Roads, with a hundred barrels of powder from Pendennis, as likewise the ships from the eastward, bound with corn for Ireland; but those who are appointed for their convoy are gone to Rye for the shot; and therefore we could wish you would hasten a ship or two hither for that purpose, we having none here, except we should send the Marmaduke and Sampson, which we are unwilling to do.

We are, &c.

RI. DEANE.
GEO. MONK.

Portsmouth, 5 April, 1653.

This was a singular letter for the Council of State to receive from their "affectionate friends

and servants," and must have warned them that those who could write in this style were not unlikely some day to become their masters—as the event showed, when in a few days afterwards "*Ri. Deane*" and "*Geo. Monk*" headed the subscription of the Captains of the Fleet to the "DECLARATION," which placed the Council of State and Parliament itself at the feet of ONE who neither "did anything negligently" himself nor suffered any one else to do so.

The want of men for the Fleet was so great and evident that the Council were obliged to issue a Commission on the 24th of May (it was the New Council of OLIVER) to the Vice-Admirals of the maritime counties to summon before them all the seamen and mariners in their respective counties, from 18 to 50 years of age, and to press as many of the most able among them as they could get. A shilling a-head press money and a penny a mile travelling expenses to Deptford were allowed. But the most curious part of these proceedings was a letter written to the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, to the effect that students of the university who should volunteer for the sea service were not to be disqualified thereby from fellowship.*

One of the causes for the deficiency of seamen was the great numbers of privateers, which giving higher wages carried off many of the best men.

* Bisset, i. 59.

This is always the case in war, and ought to be anticipated by the Admiralty whenever a war is imminent—notwithstanding the late European Convention, which is not recognized in America, and will be operative only against England.

3. FROM GENERALS DEANE AND MONK TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF
THE ADMIRALTY AND NAVY.

GENTLEMEN,

We received yours of the 6th instant with an inclosed paper for Captain Clarke at Cornet Castle, and doubt not but you may have stories enough of that nature which neither you nor we know how to answer nor supply. However, we had it in our thoughts before to fetch over those vessels from St. Malo's soon as we could get any ships ready, and have appointed the *Marmaduke* and *Joyce* for the service, as by their instructions, a copy whereof we send you here endorsed. You likewise hint unto us that you have left it to the Commissioners of the Navy here to order the payment of tickets, according to their discretion, for the good of the service; yet, at present, they show us your commands, which they apprehend wholly restrain them. Besides (which is above all) the Treasurer here satisfies us that he hath orders from the Treasurer his Master *not* to pay any. We have so fully represented the business unto you before that we shall not trouble you at this time; only we could wish that what you intend in this business you would be clear in. For the soldiers you mention we do desire that the number of 600, as was agreed on, may be supplied somewhere else towards the manning of the Fleet here, if that Colonel Ingoldesbyes be gone on board that part of the Fleet with Vice-Admiral Penn. We shall be ready now to take them as fast as they can be sent. We hear nothing as yet of the seamen that should come out of the West, and not having 120* men on board the *Resolution*, although we have taken out of most ships here three, four, or six men each, and some more.

We yesterday received letters from the Council of State about De Wit's being out, copies of both which we herewith send to you,

* There seems to be some error here, for 136 men were put on board on 10th March, but they were pressed men and volunteers; perhaps the Generals allude to able seamen.

and hope that neither they nor you will deal so hardly with us as to impute the not speedy fitting out of the Fleet unto us.

We have not else to trouble you with, but are,

Your affectionate friends and servants,

RI. DEANE,

GEO. MONK.

Portsmouth, 9th April, 1653.

Postscript.—We are much importuned by several persons on behalf of Captain Seaman and other officers that are now prisoners in the Straits, where they were honourably lost. Therefore we desire more speedy and effectual course may be taken for their releases, which, no doubt, will be an encouragement for them and others for the future to hazard their lives when they shall see such care taken of them.

Ri. Deane.

Geo. M k.

The officers of the victualling department at Portsmouth wrote on the 18th of March, three weeks before the preceding letters of the Generals, stating that, if the Fleet were not ready to sail as soon as required, the fault would not be theirs. The following is their letter of apology to the Commissioners of the Navy :—

There is scarcely one ship or frigate but is now in hand, and will probably be sooner despatched than either men can be got to man them, or powder to furnish them. We have consulted, according to your Honours' orders, with Colonel White, and do find, that notwithstanding his powder from London, and that from Gilford coming in to-day, being added together, there is but 120 barrels remaining for the furnishing of the *Resolution* and the whole Fleet, unless it be some fifteen ships and frigates. We desire your Honours' resolution touching the allowance of fish for this Fleet. That which we apprehend will please the seamen best, is to take in the one moiety in fish, and the other in money, which we conceive will be no way prejudicial to the service, the Generals being of the same opinion.

Money is much wanted. We pray that sudden care may be taken for a supply, without which we shall not long be able to carry on the service with any content. We shall give your Honours an account of Porchester Castle as soon as our extra business will give us leisure to inform ourselves of the things required.

We are, &c.

THO. SCOTT. PETER PETT.
FRA. WILLOUGHBY.

The severity of this battle of the “three days” may be estimated by the number of guns required to replace those that had been rendered unserviceable. The Generals sent in requisitions for—

	Feet.	lb.	No.
Di. Cannon . . .	8½	— 42	— 80
	8	— 40	— 120
Culverins	8½	— 36	— 100
	10	— 40	— 40
	8	— 34	— 360
Di. Culverin . . .	10	— 30	— 50
	8	— 24	— 500
	8½	— 17	— 200
			<u>1500</u>

That they did not obtain all the guns they required will appear hereafter, when we shall find General Deane, on the eve of his great battle of the North Foreland, stopping armed merchantmen on the high seas, and taking out their guns and ammunition for his own use.

The supply of officers fit for duty must have been even more difficult to be obtained, unless the following letter from the Commissioners of the Navy in London to the Commissioners at Portsmouth be a jocose reply to an “unctious” application:—

RIGHT HONBLE,

We have received your order for the providing of officers under the degrees of Captains and Lieutenants, "*such as fear God*, are faithful to the Commonwealth, and able to discharge their respective employments," which we know not how to answer, being not acquainted with *three* men of these capacities on the river.

II. The Dutch were equally active in repairing their losses, and more successful, for they were ready to put to sea before the English. The encouragements which they held out to the men were of the most tempting kind:—

1. Whosoever shall board any of the enemies' ships, and take it, shall have the ship, with the men, and all that belongs to her, for his free booty.

2. Whosoever shall board and take the Chief Admiral's ship shall have not only the ship, and all her equipage, to himself, but a recompense besides of 10,000 *livres*.

3. For the capture of the Vice-Admiral 6,000 *livres* in addition; and 4,000 *livres* in addition for the capture of every other ship under subalternate general officers.

4. Those who shall have courage, with arms in their hands, to venture to go and pull down the flag from the mainmast of the Admiral's ship shall receive 1,000 *livres* recompense; and for those of the other Admirals, 500 *livres* each. For the flag of a foremast, 150 *livres*; for that of the poop, 150 *livres*; and for those of less consideration, 50 *livres* each.

The compensation for wounds was calculated upon what appears to be a liberal scale, considering the frugality of the Dutch nation, and the value of money in those days:—

	Livres.	pen.	den.
For the loss of both eyes . . .	1066	— 23	— 3
„ one eye . . .	840	— 0	— 0
„ both arms . . .	1066	— 13	— 3
„ right arm . . .	333	— 6	— 6

	Livres.	pen.	den.
For the loss of left arm . . .	266	— 13	— 3
„ both hands . . .	933	— 6	— 6
„ right hand . . .	266	— 13	— 3
„ left hand . . .	240	— 0	— 0
„ both legs . . .	533	— 6	— 6
„ one leg . . .	240	— 0	— 0
„ both feet . . .	333	— 6	— 6
„ one foot . . .	160	— 0	— 0

Those who were otherwise rendered incapable of service, were allowed a pension of a crown a week.

III. While the Fleet was being refitted, General Deane came up to London, and took up his residence in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields; probably at his official chambers in Whitehall, where, if necessary, he might be in close communication with OLIVER CROMWELL. This was a critical moment, not only in his own life, but in that of the Parliament and Nation. The “three days’ battle” had made a terrible inroad upon his family circle and connections, and admonished him, not only by the loss of his friends, but also by his own narrow escape, to think seriously on the uncertainty of life. For many years he had been accustomed to “look death in the face,” but now death had come into his own house, and laid hands, as it were, on the curtains of his own bed. Two out of the nine superior officers killed in the late engagement, Captains *Mildmay* and *Button*, were related or allied to him; a third, Captain *Ball*, was the captain of his own ship; and the fourth, *Dru Sparrow*, the secretary of the Generals, was his brother-

in-law. His colleague, General Blake, had been struck while standing by his side on the quarter deck of the *Resolution*, and he himself had only just escaped being severely, if not dangerously, wounded by the same iron bar or bolt. It was probably in consequence of these warnings that one of his first acts on reaching London was to make his WILL,* which was executed on the 31st of March. On the same day he returned to Portsmouth, and made final arrangements for the White and Blue divisions of the Fleet to proceed to sea, as we learn from the following entry in the journal of Captain Jordan of the *Vanguard*†:—

Spithead, April 1. General Deane came on board Admiral Penn, and it was ordered that I † should be Vice-Admiral, and Captain Greaves Rear-Admiral to him.

Blake, notwithstanding his wound, resumed his command at the latter end of March (after the 21st) hoisting his flag on board the *Essex*; and was despatched, by an order from the Council of State, to the North Sea, in observation of the Dutch, who were reported to have come out again, and to have steered for the North of Scotland. This report turned out to be false, and subsequent events have left a strong probability that Blake was sent to the North through the contrivance of Cromwell, to be got out of the way at a critical moment of politics; and that he who desired his absence had originated the report. The following considerations tend to this impression:

* Inserted at the end of this volume. † See Life of Sir William Penn.

‡ He was transferred on 10th April to Admiral Lawson's division.

OLIVER CROMWELL was omnipotent on shore; and the feeble Parliament, conscious of his power and suspicious of his designs, were meditating the reduction of the Army, hoping thereby to recover a portion of their own authority, which had been ominously waning of late, under the ascendancy of the Lord General. He, on the other hand, was equally aware of their intentions, and determined to anticipate the execution of them by crushing the Parliament.

The favourable moment for this blow seemed to have arrived when Blake was compelled by his wound to retire, temporarily, from the command of the Fleet, the absolute control of which was thereby placed in the hands of *Deane* and *Monk*, upon whose co-operation Cromwell could more confidently rely. But *Blake's* unexpectedly rapid recovery, or, what was equivalent to it, his indomitable conviction that "he had no leisure to be ill," and his determination, well or ill, to be never absent from his duty for any length of time, left Cromwell no alternative between running the risk of the Admiral's opposition or sending him out of the way on a wild-goose chase after *Tromp*. As *Blake's* opposition was too great a risk to be incurred, the latter plan was adopted; occupation was found for him in the North, while *Deane* and *Monk* were detained in the South, and near the scene of action, to be ready to come forward and give the sanction of the Navy to the high-handed proceedings of Cromwell against the Parliament. He had already secured that of the Army. On the 1st of April *Deane*, who had

been in communication with Cromwell in London, returned to Spithead; and nine days afterwards Cromwell, entering the House of Commons, conveyed to the members the startling information that—" *The Lord had done with them!*" However violent and unconstitutional the proceeding was, it was fortunate that such an assembly of mischief-makers (who verified Cobbett's illustration of a "noun of multitude")* was broken up. For, among other pernicious resolutions, they had, on the 9th of July in the preceding year, appointed a committee " *to ascertain what cathedrals were fit to be pulled down, and what to be left standing!*" Thanks to Oliver Cromwell they did not survive to carry their proposed vandalism into execution.

Whitelocke relates a characteristic conversation between Cromwell and Calamy, on the subject of Cromwell's intended, or apprehended, assumption of supreme power.

Calamy had denounced the plan as both *unlawful* and *impracticable*.

To the first objection Cromwell replied, "*Salus Populi lex suprema;*" which, as an abstract proposition, could not be denied.

To the second he said—But how *impracticable?*

Calamy. "Because it is against the voice of the nation. Nine in ten will be against it."

Cromwell. "Very well! But what if a man should disarm the *nine*, and put a sword into the

* A noun of multitude, as . . . " *House of Commons,*" " *Den of Thieves,*" &c. See Cobbett's English Grammar.

hands of the *tenth* man? Would not *that* do the business?"

It was soon afterwards made clear to the comprehension of Calamy that the thing was practicable.

Twelve days after the ejection of the obnoxious members from the House of Commons, the famous "*Declaration of the Generals and Officers at Sea*" came out in the form of a letter addressed by RICHARD DEANE and GEORGE MONK, and thirty-five of their captains, to Vice-Admiral Penn, and the officers with him, cruising off the East coast, long before any intelligence of what had been done at Westminster could reach Blake and his squadron, then cruising off the Orkneys.

This DECLARATION, pledging the Fleet to take no part in the political movements on shore, but simply to do their own duty at sea, irrespective of every other consideration but their allegiance to THE NATION, was an immense support to Cromwell, and was skilfully employed by him to represent to the people at large, that what he had done had received the approbation of both the military and naval services of the STATE.

PENN and his captains adopted the same opinions and re-echoed them. Penn had probably been let into the secret by Deane on the 1st of April, on board his vice-admiral's ship—as we may infer from the fact mentioned by Captain Jordan,* of Deane's

* See Journal.

arrival and conference with Penn, and the immediate despatch of the latter eastward to make it appear that the subsequent adoption of THE DECLARATION by Penn and his officers was a spontaneous act, and not previously concocted between him and THE GENERALS.

The knowledge of this strange Revolution first came to the ears of BLAKE when lying off Aberdeen. His officers, we are told, wanted him to resent the rude overthrow of the Parliament by military violence. BLAKE replied, "*That it was not for them to mind affairs of State, but to keep foreigners from fooling them*"—an answer conceived in the spirit of THE DECLARATION, to which he never indeed gave his adherence by his signature, but which he never thwarted by his secret or open hostility. As he spoke, he acted. He neither courted nor shunned Cromwell; neither feared, nor flattered, nor braved him. The "powers that be" were to him "ordained of God," and he lived and died "THE FORTRESS OF HIS COUNTRY."

IV. This was one of the most critical periods of the career of Oliver Cromwell, for if the Fleet had refused to support him, and pronounced against his proceedings, and gone over to the King in Holland, it might, and probably would, have returned in combination with the Dutch and with a large foreign army to England, which, reinforced by the Royalists and discontented Presbyterians, might have been too strong for the "Lieutenant-General

of the State," who would probably never have lived to sign himself PROTECTOR.

For his ultimate promotion to this high office Oliver Cromwell was not a little indebted to the friendship and timely support of DEANE and MONK.

All successful usurpers must have, not only the force of their own characters and a fortunate concurrence of events in their favour, but also the assistance of men but little inferior in resolution, skill, and daring to themselves, to carry out their schemes. Oliver Cromwell had many such friends, and as they were all men of admitted probity in private life and had given proofs and pledges of their zeal for their country in public, there can be no doubt that in the elevation of this ONE MAN to supreme power they sincerely believed the true welfare of their country to consist.

RICHARD DEANE was one of the most trusted of these able and faithful adherents of Cromwell, for we have seen that he was taken into his counsel at some of the most critical periods of his political life.

We have already touched upon the family and county connections which formed the network of Cromwell's intrigues. To Buckinghamshire he was principally indebted for his success. Those friends and relations who had rallied round John Hampden in his resistance to arbitrary power transferred their allegiance, after his death, to his cousin Oliver Cromwell; and RICHARD DEANE through the *Wases, Wickhams, Mildmays, Buttons, Goodwins,*

and *Fleetwoods*, was a junior member of the family compact.

His devotion to Cromwell we have already inferred from his posthumous panegyrist, *Th. Tw.*:—

The swelling seas and crossing tides can't part
 Brave Deane from him *for whom he kept his heart*.
 Let others chase the pirates, he on shore
 Must serve his General 'till wars give o'er.

While Cromwell's regard for Deane is intimated by the other elegiac memorialist, who describes the widow weeping—

For him, whose death doth unto mourning call
 Cromwell the great and noble General,
 The Glory of the Age——

The friendship of Cromwell was shown in the rapid and unparalleled promotion of Richard Deane within the short space of ten years, from obscurity to some of the highest offices of trust and power in the State. He was one of the first triumvirate of Generals at Sea selected, after the death of the King, to execute the office of Lord High Admiral, an office which has ever since, with few and brief interruptions, been in commission to this day. He was the Chief Civil Commissioner, and at the same time Military Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, holding also the *báton* of a General at Sea; destined, according to one account,* to command an army of invasion in Holland, and, according to another,† to lead an expedition against Rome to compel the Pope to a better treatment of the Protestants of the Continent! He must therefore have

* John Lilburne.

† J. R. Merchant's Elegiac Memorial, 1653.

had the strongest ties of interest with Cromwell, whose influence affected every promotion, after his creation of the New Model, and was irresistible after his appointment to the office of Lord-General.

That *Deane*, together with *Ireton*, was the most prominent of the Colonels at Windsor who insisted upon bringing the King to trial, we have the evidence of Rushworth before the House of Lords in 1660. The order of proceedings during the trial shows that Colonel Deane was one of the Committee for the examination of the witnesses previous to the arraignment of the King before "The High Court of Justice," and that with *Ireton*, *Waller*, *Harrison*, and *Okey*, he was one of the committee of five Colonels appointed to select the place of the execution.

We find him on an immediately previous and important occasion *the only man* taken by Cromwell to the secret and mysterious conferences at the Rolls, where, with the Lord Mayor of London, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the Keeper of the Great Seal, Cromwell consulted on the form of the Government to be founded after the deposition or death of the King. And *now* we find him in joint command of the Fleet with *Monk*, issuing that DECLARATION by which the captains of the chief part of the ships in commission were virtually pledged to maintain OLIVER CROMWELL in his assumption of supreme power.

The collective force of these arguments appears to me very great towards proving the intimate con-

nection of RICHARD DEANE with OLIVER CROMWELL in bringing about the events which terminated in the overthrow of King and Parliament and the establishment of the PROTECTORATE.

V. The manner in which THE DECLARATION was procured and accomplished may perhaps be thus explained:—

A. *Blake*, whose concurrence was doubted, was sent out of the way as soon as it was discovered that he would not allow his wound to be an excuse for inaction. A false report had been spread, that the Dutch were at sea again in the North, and *Blake*, characteristically, fell into the trap and accepted the command of the squadron that was to go in pursuit of them. no

B. *Monk*, thus left in command of the Fleet at Spithead, (for *Deane* had gone to London “on private business,”) employed himself in preparing the minds of his captains for the “coming event,” while

C. *Deane*, in London, was in personal communication with Cromwell, and arranging with him the time, manner, and probably the very wording of THE DECLARATION, which was to follow the *coup d'etat*. These arrangements being completed, he returned to Portsmouth on the 31st of March, and on the 1st of April communicated them to Vice-Admiral Penn, whom, on the very next day, he sent to sea, to be out of the way when the great news arrived (?) and so appear to be acting in an

independent and conscientious manner, when he added his own signature or sanction to THE DECLARATION.

On the 10th April Cromwell eliminated the Presbyterian element from the House of Commons, and twelve days after came out the famous and effective "*Declaration of the Generals at Sea.*"

And yet all this was done *in accordance with law*, so far as the Fleets were concerned! For the commission under which the Generals at Sea acted gave them power to take any measures which they deemed necessary for the public welfare, *provided* that two of the three generals concurred. Thus the concurrence of Generals Deane and Monk constrained their colleague, General Blake, to acquiescence in a course to which had he been left to his own free will and judgment he would not have consented.*

The "Declaration" was as follows, and was entitled—

The Declaration of the Generals at Sea and the Captains under their command, concerning the late Dissolution of Parliament, and their Resolution thereupon:
as it was sent through the Deputy Governor of Dover Castle to Vice-Admiral Penn
to be communicated to the Commanders and Officers of the ships under his command for their concurrence therein: who unanimously assented thereunto.

GENTLEMEN,

There being certain intelligence come to our hands of the great changes within this Nation, viz. the dissolution of this Parliament, We the Generals at Sea, Commanders and Officers, here

* See Clarendon.

present with this part of the Fleet, have had a very serious consideration thereof; as also what was our duty and incumbent upon us in such a juncture of time; and we find it set upon our spirits that we are called and entrusted by this Nation for the defence of the same against the enemies thereof at sea, whether the people of the United Provinces or others. And we are resolved, in the strength of God, unanimously to prosecute the same according to the trust reposed in us; and have thought good to signify the same unto you, desiring you will take the effectuallest course you can for the strengthening and encouraging one another in this work, and doubt not but the Lord, who hath done good and wonderful things for His people that trusted in Him, will also be found among us His poor unworthy servants, if we continue firm and constant in our duties, walking before Him in faith, humility, and dependence, not seeking ourselves but His glory,* which that we may all do is the desire and prayer of

Your affectionate friends and brethren,

	Ri. Deane,	} Generals.
	Geo. Monk,	
Thomas Crosby.	Ben. Grimston.	
Seth Hawley.	Jo. Hayward.	
Li. Lane.	Anth. Farning.	
Tho. Atkininstall.	Will. Pyle.	
Jo. Jefferson.	John Edwin.	
Giles Shelley.	Will. Hadock.	
Rob. Sanders.	Th. Thor.	
Ed. Blagg.	Will. Goodson.	
Rob. Graves.	Tho. Bunddidge.	
Jo. Limbry.	Ro. Clarke.	
Rich. Stayner.	Jo. Seaman.	
Fr. Park.	Er. Smith.	
Ja. Peacock.	Th. Hare.	
And. Rand.	Nich. Lucas.	
Geo. Dakins.	Jonah Hyde.	
Nich. Foster.	Will. Morrock.	
Jer. Smith.		

From on board the *Resolution* at the Spithead,
April 22, 1653.

* This smacks of O. C.; it is not the composition of R. D.

To which letter Vice-Admiral Penn sent his answer, addressed to *Oliver Cromwell*, through whom he had probably received the "Declaration."

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Until now I have had no opportunity to call the Commanders of this part of the Fleet together, when after reading your Excellency's letter, with the Declaration which I received from the Deputy Governor of Dover Castle, they severally declared abundance of affection to this good work, voluntarily professing, in the presence of the Lord, to engage their lives and all that is dear unto them in promoting it in every thing they are able, not in their own but in His strength, as they desired me to signify to your Excellency. The enclosed is the Declaration to the Generals of the Fleet, and Commanders of that part of the Fleet at Portsmouth, in answer to one from them, which I make bold to trouble your Excellency with, not knowing of so safe a way of conveyance. Our Fleet at present is somewhat dispersed through the stormy weather we had yester day and night. I have endeavoured our speedy meeting, which I hope will be to-morrow, when we shall proceed westward, in obedience to your Excellency's and our Generals' commands.

I humbly take leave to be,

Your Excellency's faithful and obedient Servant,

WILLIAM PENN.

From on board the ship called the *James*,
April 25, 1653.

There is no date to the above in Mr. Granville Penn's extract; but by a note in Captain Jordan's Journal we find the date to have been April 25, for on that day he says he went on board Admiral Penn's ship, then lying in the Downs, to a council of captains, and that they unanimously resolved "to engage against all their enemies for *maintaining truth and righteousness.*"

What that "*truth and righteousness*" was, is with equal indefiniteness called by Penn "*the Good Work,*" which preceding events inform us was the violent ejection of obnoxious members from the House of Commons by the Lord-General, and the assumption of the whole power of government into his own hands.

One of the remarkable features in this correspondence is, that Blake's name is not mentioned at all in it, or in any document of the time relating to this DECLARATION, which corroborates the conclusion that he was not considered friendly to the elevation of Oliver Cromwell to supreme authority in the State.

VI. The business which had detained one fleet at Spithead and the other in the Downs being thus pleasantly concluded, Penn and Lawson sailed from the Downs with the White and Blue squadrons, on the 27th April, westward, to meet the Red Division of the Generals, who sailed about the same time from Portsmouth; and, on the 29th of April the three divisions were in conjunction four leagues E. of the Isle of Wight. We learn this from Captain Jordan's Journal, which now comes in very usefully in noting the daily movements of the Fleet; and, as it is an undeniable authority as to matters of fact, we cannot do better than follow it. For the transcript I am indebted to Mr. Granville Penn, who very justly calls it "a valuable memorial."

A JOURNAL ON THE "VANGUARD."

1653.

- *April 29. Went aboard the Generals.
- „ 30. Went aboard the Generals. That the whole Fleet be put into the several squadrons or divisions. This night stopped the ebb. Weighed next morning with the flood.
- May 1. Wind easterly, with small rain. Anchored off the Ness in 17 fathoms. Weighed at 7 at night, and were nigher to the Generals and anchored again presently.
- „ 2. Wind S.W. Weighed in the morning at 5, and stood towards the Downs off Dover. Espied 15 or 20 sail towards Calais; the whole Fleet chased, and found to be several bound to several places. A Council of War was held on board the Generals, the result thereof to take the opportunity to fight the enemy.
- „ 3. Stood over to the Holland coast.
- „ 4. Little wind—easterly. In the morn, at daylight, divers fishers' vessels were espied. All chased. Being very little wind, sent boats after them, which took about 40. In the afternoon went aboard the Generals to Council. The result was, for many reasons, the fishermen should have their liberty, upon their engagement not to take up arms against the Commonwealth of England.
- „ 5. Wind W. At 8 a.m. *Camperdown* bore E. by S. about 3 leagues distant. Some small vessels, with a pilot boat, were taken, which occasioned the Generals to call all the flag officers aboard, to communicate the intelligence of the Dutch Fleet sailing from before the Texel at 5 p.m. with about 70 sail of men-of-war, and 200 merchant ships to convoy, probably northward. It was resolved to follow them through the North Channel.

* The Journal begins March 29.

- May 6. Wind S.E. Steered S.W. Went aboard the Generals to Council. The result was a proposition made to send 20 frigates to get between Admiral Tromp and the Fleet coming from France, to intercept their coming to Tromp. Not to send them, but keep in a body together. Most voices for the latter. Some provisions we took in this day to complete two months'. Steered away this night with an easy gale N.N.W.
- „ 10. Wind S. Went aboard the Generals to Council. The result was to send all the fishing vessels taken formerly, into Aberdeen, about 3 or 4 leagues distant. Accordingly sent in the Dogger boats, &c. Several gentlemen came aboard the *General* while we were aboard at dinner. The Council consisting of only the flag officers. Anchored in 18 fathoms.
- „ 11. W. Set sail about 4 p.m. Steered for the Isles of Orkney.
- „ 12. W. About 4 p.m. nigh the Isles of Orkney. This night steered away for Scotland.
- „ 13. N.W. and N.N.W. About 4 p.m. were near Fairy Isle.
- „ 14. About 2 a.m. heard some guns shot in our Fleet, which was to give warning of vessels passed through. We also fired two guns to give notice. We espied one flyboat that had lost her foretop-mast. She bore before the wind, then westerly. Some of our Fleet chased, and took a small Flemish man-of-war. Arrived at Breesound Bay in Shetland. Went aboard the *General* to Council—only flag officers, to resolve what course to bend in case no news of Tromp, or any of the merchant ships to come from France.
- „ 15. W.N.W. At daylight weighed, and ran with all the great ships to the entrance of the harbour, the smaller ships further in, that we might take our water aboard. Anchored in 13 fathoms.
- „ 16. Got our water aboard. Washed our ship between wind and water.

- May 17. N.W. Set sail about 9 a.m. from Breesound Harbour. A Council aboard the *General*, what course should be thought most advisable at present for the advancement of the service. Resolved, "The whole Fleet should bend their course for the Riff, so as to gain intelligence; and for the *Texel* to meet the enemy."
- „ 18. N.W. Steered E. by S. and E.S.E.
- „ 19. N. Little wind and a whelming sea. Steered E.S.E.
- „ 20. About 8 a.m. saw Shetland. Wind N. Went aboard the *General's* ship in Council about trial of some officers of the *Raven*, &c., for misdemeanour—who were cashiered. The check ducked.
- „ 21. N.W. Went aboard the *General* to Council. Flag officers. The result was to hold on our course for the Riff, to send scout to gain intelligence. Without just occasion otherwise, to proceed, as formerly, for the *Texel*.
- „ 22. Little wind. W. Calm in the afternoon. Steering S.
- „ 23. N. Steered S. and by S. and by W. and S.S.W. This day ducked John Overy, a soldier, for misdemeanour; also punished several seamen. Steered S.S.W.
- „ 24. N. Steered on S.S.E. and S.E. by S. Saw the land about 6 at night, the beacon or brander of the *Scheldt* bearing S.E. by E. Stood off all night till 4 next morning.
- „ 25. N.N.E. Tack'd at 4 a.m. and stood on (E. for shore). About noon fell in with the *Schelling Island*. The great fire beacon S. or S. and by E. about three leagues distant. After steered along the shore near the entrance of the *Fly*. About 2 p.m. went to Council. The result to lie before the *Texel*, to prevent a conjunction with those 20 ships of war joining with Admiral *Tromp*, supposed, by all the probable intelligence could be gained, (to be) to the southward of our Fleet, about *Weilings* or *Goree*.
- „ 26. N. About 8 a.m. fair by the *Texel*. About noon all the Fleet chased, to speak with a vessel to the windward.

- May 27. N.N.E. Went aboard, to Council, to the General. (Only flag officers.) The result was, that the whole Fleet should stand over towards Yarmouth, to join with about 20 of our men-of-war, supposed to be thereabouts—to leave scouts off the Texel, the Maes, &c. to take notice of the enemies' motions.
- „ 28. Wind variable. Easterly with calm. Steered over for Yarmouth.
- „ 29. Wind westerly. About noon made the land about Leostoffe, six leagues off. Anchored 2 p.m in 20 fathoms. S.S.W.
- „ 30. Wind variable, E. and W. The flag officers went aboard the *General*. The result was that we should ply two or three tides to gain a conjunction with those ships ready about Lee Road, or the Swin, and then attend the motion of Admiral Tromp, he having been on our coast lately, and no certain intelligence of his departure. This day Captain Strong in the *Unicorn*, with seven ships of war, came and joined with this Fleet. Tided up in the night-time, and anchored, being calm, with ebb.
- „ 31. S. W. and S. S. W. and S. Weighed with the tide serving, at 4 a.m. and plied to Solebay; there anchored at noon, tide down, in 13 fathoms. After, it proved blustering, at S.W.

VII. The journal of Captain Jordan has now brought us down to the eve of the great battle of June 2, 1653. It shows how assiduously the Generals *Deane* and *Monk* endeavoured to discover the Dutch fleet, first in the north, then along their own coasts, and now, finally, along the coasts of Norfolk and Suffolk, where they found the enemy whom they had been so long seeking.

That a whole month should have elapsed before they made this discovery, is little to the credit of

the home authorities, who should have kept them better informed of the movements of the enemy. They were either unprovided with the means of conveying the intelligence of the proximity of the Dutch fleet; or they mistook the Dutch fleet in the offing for their own; for it must have been frequently seen from the shore. This was an unpardonable neglect, and might have been attended with serious consequences.

We remark in the journal of the *Vanguard*, how frequently the Generals called a Council of War. This, according to Mr. Granville Penn's ideas, may have been but a proper deference of the land officers—*Colonels* Deane and Monk—to the opinions of seamen, like Penn and Lawson, who were thoroughly masters of their own noble profession; and of their captains, who had been bred up in the service. But as *Deane*, at least, knew what were the duties of a thoroughbred seaman, it may also have been a deference—partly to the established usages of the navy, and partly to the characters and experience of their own Captains, which were of the highest order; but we must not, with Mr. Granville Penn, infer, that because the *Colonels* Deane and Monk so often called their flag officers into Council it was owing to their diffidence of their own knowledge and experience, and a tacit confession of their own incapacity. Mr. Granville Penn has some very sensible remarks on the vexed question of *breaking the line*, and contends, with success, that although a Dutch invention (by Tromp), it was first practised

by the English in the great battle of June, 1653, under *Deane* and *Monk*. But he claims the application of the *Dutch* manœuvre against the Dutch themselves for Vice-Admiral Penn, by whose advice he conjectures that *Deane* was swayed; for he excludes *Monk* altogether from any participation in it, as, on the only occasion when he was in sole command he refused, or disdained, or forgot to act upon it. I have elsewhere claimed the credit of this decisive measure for General *Deane*, to which claim, and to the arguments upon which I support it, I refer the reader.* But I cannot help remarking in this place, that although Captain Jordan, a sailor, mentions so many councils of flag-officers called on board the *Resolution* by the Generals, he never once hints that the subject of naval tactics, or manner of bearing down upon the enemy, ever engaged the attention of the *Council* on any of these occasions, which they probably would have done if such a startling novelty had been suggested by Penn for the first time to General *Deane* on the eve of his greatest and last battle. *Deane* and *Monk*, who called their officers together on every occasion whenever there was a possibility of doubt, even in apparently trivial matters, would hardly, I think, have, in a matter of such importance and novelty, have taken the advice of Penn alone, without a reference to other flag-officers. I infer, therefore, that in this question they, or rather General *Deane*, did not act upon any advice of Penn's, but

* See p. 668, &c.

upon his own original conviction of the value of "*fighting in line*" and "*breaking the line*" of the enemy. One thing, at least, is admitted or maintained by Mr. Granville Penn, that it was in this battle that the manœuvre was first practised by the *English*, and that by it the victory was gained.

VIII. When Deane and Monk were steering northward in search of the enemy along the English and Scotch coasts, Blake, with his squadron of thirty men-of-war, was cruising along the Dutch coasts from north to south, in the hope of intercepting Tromp as he came out of, or was entering his own harbours. The destiny or fatality which had lately pursued Blake in the matter of the DECLARATION again overtook him, when, with his thirty ships, he found himself a second time in the presence of Tromp at the head of an *hundred!*

Most men, under these circumstances, would have declined the battle, and satisfied themselves with skirmishing as they retired towards the English shore, in the constant hope of some reinforcement which might enable them to fight with something like an equality, and some shadow of a chance of success. But Blake was not the man to save himself at the risk of damaging the reputation or checking the ardour of his gallant crews. He chose rather to sacrifice himself, if necessary, than to leave the enemy untouched, and flushed with a bloodless victory to fall upon Deane and Monk with a superior force, and *possibly* to defeat them. He believed

that Deane and Monk were not far off, and might hear the sound of his cannonade, and come up at the critical moment of his engagement with overwhelming power, and crush the enemy. He, therefore, accepted the battle, and fought it with a heroism never surpassed, if ever equalled, by any Admiral at the head of a fleet at sea. The battle was, *necessarily*, in favour of the Dutch, as to its immediate result, but immeasurably advantageous to the English in its ultimate consequences, for it proved them to be invincible in anything like an equal battle, and ever after sent them into action with a confidence which generally ended in victory.

BLAKE, disputing every league of the water, with a gallantry worthy of his renown, fought from the Dutch to the English Coast, with a tenacity of purpose which left TROMP no hope of being able to successfully contend with him, when re-inforced from the English ports, or united with *Deane* and *Monk*, whose arrival he hourly looked for and dreaded. But they did not arrive, and TROMP was victorious. BLAKE, with a shattered remnant of his squadron, was compelled to take refuge under the guns of Deal and Dover; and the Dutch Fleet, at the mouth of the Thames, spread consternation along its banks, even to London Bridge! For the people would naturally think that TROMP had defeated, not a small division only of the English Fleets, but the entire fleet itself. Fortunately the Dutch ships had been too much shattered to take any immediate advantage of their success, so that

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TROMP, after alarming the coast for a few hours, retired to his own ports to refit, that he might return for the encounter with Deane and Monk on more equal terms; and well and rapidly he carried out his intentions.

The valour of BLAKE has deservedly earned the praises of posterity; but we shall not, in admiration of our own hero, overlook the consummate abilities and diligence of his rival, TROMP, who was equally brave, and even more skilful as a naval commander.

Having repaired his damages, he was in a few days again at sea, and upon the English Coast, with a fleet only less by fifteen ships than his former, and again created an alarm, amounting to a panic, along the shores of Essex, before Deane and Monk had even heard of his action with Blake!

The intelligence of that defeat only reached the Generals on the 27th of May, in Yarmouth Roads, but it was coupled with the welcome news that Blake, although defeated, was not annihilated, and that he would soon be at sea again with twenty ships, confident of arriving in time to put the finishing stroke to the victory, which he anticipated would be initiated by his gallant colleagues—a confidence amply justified by the result.

IX. Four days before he received this intelligence, General Deane had joined Monk in a letter—his last—to the “Commissioners for the affairs of the Admiralty and Navy,” giving them a report of the proceedings of the fleet up to that date; and

as such his letter is especially interesting. It will be seen by it that the fleet, notwithstanding all the promises of the Victualling Board, was still very far from being properly supplied, even with articles of ordinary use and necessity. This letter is dated on board the *Resolution*, off Dunnidge (Dunwich) May 31, 1653; and is as follows:—

GENTLEMEN,

Yesterday morning came unto us, being at anchor off Yarmouth, the *Unicorn* and *Rutland* frigates with six merchant ships-of-war more and nine or ten victualling and water ships, and we are now between Dunnidge and Alborrow* with the whole Fleet, intending to get up as high as Longsand Head, to expect such ships as are now in the river and Lee Road ready to sail, to whom we have sent orders to make their repair unto us this night if possible. Even now we are informed by a ketch that Admiral Van Tromp, with his Fleet, was seen last night off the Longsand Head, whom we shall endeavour to find out according to the best intelligence we have received, and should be glad (if you know any thing of his motions) you would communicate the same unto us for our better direction.

However, our confidence is in the Lord, and we hope we have His spirit for our guide, and that He will enable us, with wisdom from above, to manage this great trust committed to us, as will stand much for His glory and the good of the Commonwealth.†

We much wonder there is not sent down with the victuals a proportion of wood and candles answerable, with such like necessaries, according to the late allowance, or, at least, as much as concerns the victuallers, or money to supply it at any place where we come, about which we have already writ, but hear nothing of it. We have also writ about hammacoes and the great want there is of them in the Fleet, which you promised should be sent unto us some time since, though we have them not as yet. Unless these, and such like

* Aldborough.

† So far the pen of *Monk* may possibly be traced. The remainder of the letter is almost certainly the composition of *Deane*.

trivials, are timely provided, as well as the rest, the service will very much suffer.

We are your very affectionate friends and servants,

RI. DEANE,
GEO. MONK.

“ *The Service will very much suffer!* ” These were the last words of Richard Deane to the Commissioners for the affairs of the Admiralty and Navy—and they were only a somewhat louder echo of similar words of complaint in almost every letter which he wrote to them from the time in which he first entered upon the duties of one of the Generals at Sea. They were but a variation of the ordinary language of Popham and Blake. The Generals had “confidence in the Lord, that He would enable them to discharge their trust.” The Commissioners seem to have had still greater confidence in a Providence not their own, and the wonder is that they were so seldom disappointed.

The “merchant ships-of-war” to which the General’s letter refers, were often as well armed as the smaller frigates of the State, and nearly as serviceable in action. The conditions upon which they were usually engaged, may be seen in the following Agreement* between Generals Deane and Monk on the one part, and Richard Marshall, captain and owner of the *Samuel*, on the other part. March 21, 165 $\frac{2}{3}$.

* State Paper Office No. 19, which collection contains several such agreements.

The *Samuel* was of 300 tons burthen, and carried 32 guns and 110 men.

Conditions—

1. The ship to be furnished with 25 guns by the owner. All over 25, and also all the ammunition, &c., to be supplied by the State.
2. The owner guaranteed against "honourable" loss in battle.
3. Terms. £180 a month, paid two months in advance. The State finding powder, swords, half-pikes and spits, muskets and bandoliers, and round shot for each piece and pistols; also victuals for six months, and all tackling complete.

The Generals, by a recent order of Council, had power to take one-fourth of the men out of every merchantman they met, whether inward or outward bound.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE BATTLE OF THE NORTH FORELAND.—DEATH OF GENERAL DEANE.—ENGLISH AND DUTCH ACCOUNTS.—OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE LETTERS.—THE DEATH OF TROMP.—“WHO FIRST BROKE THE LINE?”

I. THE GENERALS issued their “*Instructions how to act in the presence of the enemy,*” * on the 26th of March; and on the 28th of May, when they received tidings of the near approach of the enemy, these “*Instructions*” were repeated.

The fleet was divided into three squadrons—*Red*, *White*, and *Blue*, under the respective commands of the GENERALS, who were Admirals of the *Red*; of *William Penn*, Vice-Admiral of England (*White*) in the *James*, 66; and of *John Lawson*, Rear-Admiral of England (*Blue*) in the *George*, 58. The flag ships of the different squadrons were distinguished by having their flags at the *main*, *fore*, and *mizen*.

The Vice-Admirals and Rear-Admirals of the *Fleet* commanding divisions, were :—

Vice-Admiral James Peacock . . .	<i>Triumph</i> . . .	62	} Red.
Rear-Admiral Samuel Howett . . .	<i>Speaker</i> . . .	56	
Vice-Admiral Lionel Lane . . .	<i>Victory</i> . . .	60	} White.
Rear-Admiral Thomas Graves . . .	<i>Andrew</i> . . .	56	
Vice-Admiral Joseph Jordan . . .	<i>Vanguard</i> . . .	56	} Blue.
Rear-Admiral William Goodson . . .	<i>Rainbow</i> . . .	58	

* See these “*Instructions*” in the Appendix.

The Generals' squadron consisted of

	38 ships, carrying	1,440 guns and	6,169 men
The Vice-Admirals'	33	„ „	1,189 „ „ 5,085 „
The Rear-Admirals'	34	„ „	1,189 „ „ 5,015 „
	<hr/>		
	105	3,818	16,269
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

Five fire-ships, each carrying 10 guns, and 30 men, were attached to the fleet—three to the first division, and one each to the other two divisions.

The morning of June 1, 1653, broke with a strong gale from the north-west.

At six o'clock the fleet weighed anchor, and got under sail; and at eight anchored again. The Generals lay outside the *Shipwash* in twenty fathoms, waiting for the heavy sailers. While they were thus lying at anchor the advanced ships espied two galliot hoys, scouts of the enemy, and chased them to leeward, until they came in sight of THE DUTCH FLEET, which they immediately signalled to Rear-Admiral Lawson, and he repeated it to the GENERALS, who instantly fired the gun "*to weigh;*" and the whole fleet weighed and stood out to sea in order of battle—the three squadrons bearing down perpendicularly towards the enemy in three columns of attack.

At four o'clock in the afternoon the entire fleet of the Dutch was visible, about four leagues distant to leeward of Admiral Lawson's squadron, which had outsailed the other two, and was in advance. It was six o'clock before the Generals and the Red squadron were able to come up with the Blue; but

the White squadron being still far behind, and, "the leeward tide come," the English fleet anchored again in thirty fathoms, for the night.

The Dutch fleet, of about ninety sail, were under the command of *Tromp* himself, and, flushed with their recent success over Blake, gave no sign of desiring to avoid an action, although they were not quite equal in number of ships to the English; in guns and weight of metal there was little or no difference between the two fleets. In fire-ships, the Dutch were superior. So that *Tromp* had every reason to calculate upon a probable, though dear-bought, victory.

TROMP made good use of the night; for at day-break the next morning he was seen to windward, having gained the weather-gage, while the English were lying quietly an anchor.

At daylight the English fleet again weighed, and advanced upon the enemy, *in columns of squadrons*. The "Blue," as before, outsailed the "Red" and "White," and the latter, from the heavy sailing of the *James*, was considerably behind. The wind being light, it was eleven o'clock before Lawson, in the *George*, closely followed by Jordan, in the *Vanguard*, and Goodson in the *Rainbow*, broke the line of *De Ruyter*, the Vice-Admiral of Holland, and second in command to *TROMP*.

The GENERALS came up, shortly after, in the *Resolution*, and "charging" through *Tromp's* division, were instantly surrounded by *sixteen* of the enemy's men-of-war; and for some time the *Reso-*

AT SEA.

In the *GEORGE MONK*, Esquires, Generals and Admirals. Together with that memorable Fight on the 2d and 3d of June, 1653, in which, they also took 1350 Prisoners, with very little loss on our part; and prizes which have been taken Prizes, and are now in the Service of the Country.

The Third Squadron.

The Rear-Admiral's Division of the Rear-Admiral's Squadron.
The Blue Flags, commanded by JOHN LAWSON, Esq., Rear-Admiral of England, and Admiral of the Blue Flag.

Ships	Ships' Names.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
	<i>George</i>	*JOHN LAWSON, Esq. Adm.	350	58
	<i>Kentish frigate</i>	*Jac. Reynolds, Captain ...	180	50
	<i>Great President</i> ..	Francis Park	180	40
	<i>Nonsuch frigate</i>	Thomas Penrose.....	170	40
	<i>Success</i>	William Kendall.....	150	38
	<i>Welcome</i>	*John Harman	200	40
	P <i>Oake</i>	John Edwin.....	120	32
	<i>Brazil frigate</i>	Thomas Heath.....	120	30
	P <i>Golden Eastl. Merchant</i> ..	John Walters	110	32
	<i>Loyalty Adventure</i>	Edward Greene	160	38
	<i>Samaritan</i>	Shadrach Blake	120	30
	P <i>Hunter fire-ship</i>		30	10

The Vice-Admiral's Division of the Rear-Admiral's Squadron.

	<i>Vanguard</i>	*Joseph Jordan, Vice-Adml.	390	56
	<i>Entrance</i>	Richard Newbery, Captain	200	43
	<i>Dragon</i>	John Seaman	260	38
	P <i>Convert</i>	Phillip Githings.....	120	32
	P <i>Paul</i>	Anthony Spatchurt.....	120	38
	P <i>Gift</i>	Thomas Salmon	130	34
	P <i>Bear Crescent frigate</i>	Thomas Thorowgood.....	115	30
	P <i>Heart's Samuel Taboat</i>	Joseph Ames	110	30
	P <i>Hound Benjamin</i>	Robert Sparks	120	32
	P <i>Ann and King Ferdinand</i> ..	Richard Paine.....	140	36
	P <i>London Roebuck</i>	*Henry Fenn	100	30

The Rear-Admiral's Division of the Rear-Admiral's Squadron.

	<i>Rainbow</i>	Will. Goodson, Rear-Adm.	300	58
	<i>Convertine frigate</i> ...	Anthony Joyn, Captain...	210	44
	<i>Sussex Amity frigate</i>	Henry Pack.....	150	36
	<i>Guinea Dolphin</i>	Robert Davis	120	30
	P <i>Tiger Arms of Holland</i> ..	Francis Mardrig.....	120	34
	P <i>Violet Tulip</i>	*Joseph Cubitt	120	32
	P <i>Sophia Jonathan</i>	Robert Graves.....	110	30
	P <i>Falmouth Dragoneare</i>	Edward Smith.....	110	32
	P <i>Four Ships William and John</i> ...	Nathaniel Jesson.....	120	36
	<i>Hambur Nichodemus frigate</i> .	William Ledgart.....	40	12
	P <i>Phoenia Blossom</i>	Nathaniel Cock	110	30

The Rear-Admiral's squadron, consisting of ... 34 ships.
 managed by ... 5015 men.
 mounted with... 1189 guns.

840.

Besides names, and numbers of guns and men, cannot be given at present.

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Licensed and Entered according to order.

* The captains 1662; having attended the king to England in 1660, as his Majesty's rear-admiral.

lution was alone.* The opportune arrival of their Vice-Admiral and his supports rescued the noble ship from destruction; but not before the fatal shot had been fired which deprived "the thrice-worthy General RICHARD DEANE" of his life. He fell, sword in hand, in the bow of his ship, as he was waving his sword † and encouraging his men to follow him in boarding the Dutch Admiral.

The action had now become close, and had lasted for three hours before Penn, with the White Squadron, was able to get into it, when the Dutch, overpowered, began to retreat. The English pursued through the night, but, in consequence of the lightness of the wind, were unable to overtake them until the morning of June 3, when the action was again renewed.

II. There have been many accounts of this great naval battle, and all agree in the main particulars—that Lawson, at the head of the Blue squadron, first broke through the Dutch line; and that, shortly afterwards, the Generals broke through at another point, and that General Deane was killed by a round shot from Tromp's ship, at nearly the first broadside, when the ships were locked together—the bowsprit of the *Resolution* being athwart that of the *Brederode*. The circumstances of General Deane's death are thus related:—

1. It hath pleased the Lord to take away Major-General Deane

* See Life of Sir Wm. Penn.

† Thus described in the Illustrated Clarendon in the Bodleian.

in this encounter; an honest and able servant to this Commonwealth. He was slain by a great shot.*

2. The first day the greatest execution was done, but not visible to us further than the blowing up of one great ship of theirs and the sinking of another. But the second day we had the harvest and gleaming of the vintage, and with less loss than any heretofore, not one ship, not one commander lost, save our thrice-worthy General Deane, who was shot into the body with a great shot the first broadside. Yet did God put a spirit of courage into the men, and made them valiant and vigilant.†

3. In the beginning of the fight, and at the first broadside, General Deane was shot, almost off in the middle, by a cannon bullet, while standing by General Monk, who without any disturbance bade his servants and seamen remove him, and continued the service without further notice of the accident.‡

4. Monk threw his cloak over the body lest the sailors should know and be discouraged by their loss.§

5. Deane was slain with a great ball, the first shot made by the Dutch, in whose death there happened something so remarkable, that it may be worth inserting. This Deane, the night before he was killed, the rats had torn and devoured all that part of his doublet on the left side, where he was shot with a cannon bullet, and his own spirit was much sensible of his approaching fate, for though he was a Beamist in religion, yet he retired for two hours to some private devotions (which was not usual with him) the morning before his death, and those who observed him then, he being valiant enough, saw death in his face. Of which we make no further reflexion, but that there are more good spirits that watch for us and warn us.||

[A curious testimony to the popular superstition on this subject is borne by Sir James Turner in his *Maxims*, p. 59, Bannatyne edition. One night, as he lay asleep in bed, his stockings were carried away from his bedside, and were found the next morning in

* Monk's Despatch to the Admiralty.

† Life of Penn, i. 496. Letter of Mr. Lyons, Chaplain of the *Resolution*.

‡ Heath.

§ *Columna Rostrata*.

|| Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 590.

a rat hole, upon which he makes the following remark: "I have often heard that the eating or gnawing of clothes by rats is ominous, and portends some mischance to fall on those to whom the clothes belong. I thank God I was not addicted to such divinations, or heeded them. *It is true that more than one befell me shortly after*, but I am sure I could have better foreseen them myself than rats, or any such vermin, and yet did not."]

6. We had but one captain killed, except Admiral Deane, which was indeed a great loss.*

7. Captain Bourne of the *Resolution* writes, that he hoped for one hour more to end the war; and others, that ere they have done Tromp shall pay dear for Deane's blood.

8. Admiral Deane was killed by one of the first shots that flew from the Hollanders. Monk, seeing him fall, covered the body with his cloak, and endeavoured to encourage the seamen.†

9. Letters and messengers from the fleet did bring the news, that yesterday, about noon, the English engaged the Dutch fleet about the North Foreland The report of the guns was heard in London; 126 men were slain in the English fleet, but none of note, except General Deane and one captain.‡

10. These notices of the death of Richard Deane may be appropriately closed with the spirited and poetical description of it, and its effects, by Payne Fisher, the Poet Laureate of Cromwell, in his *Inauguratio Oliveriana*.

DEANUS, ut adversum videt increbescere classem,
 Aligeris dat vela notis; propiorque Batavis
 Adstitit ad lævam transversis brachia costis.
 Prima quidem pugnae facies (quam sera dolebit
 Posteritas, praesensque gemens reminiscitur aetas,
 Terribilis, tristisque fuit, quæ turbine diro
 Abstulit, et primis DEANUM deleverit ausis.
 Scilicet, admoto surgens animosior hostis
 Tela inter, praecepta suis animosa ministrans.
 Occidit, intentus perituris hostibus: Illo
 Nil minor incumbens stratis qui victor Achivis
 Et Spartæ patrias sancivit sanguine metas.

* Ludlow's Memoirs, 178.

† Life of Martin Herbert Tromp, p. 57.

‡ Whitelocke.

* Non impune tamen Batavi sensère cadentem,
 Nec comites O DEANE tui ! sine principe nauta
 Dum credit superesse nefas, violentius hostes
 Involat attonitos, ceu quos præsentia vivi
 Auxerat, et magnis toties animaverat actis,
 Tangeret extincti sensus : sine corpore credas
 Prostratum pugnasse Ducem, tacitisque furentes
 Motibus instigasse suos, mentemque per ipsos
 Erravisse diu poros, (*sic*) animumque cadentis
 Rursus ab extremo credas rediisse feretro.

Sic cecidit felix Heros, moriensque superbum
 Pertulit ad Manes venalem morte triumphum ;
 Et quanquam medios Libitina abruperit ausus,
 Ille satis vixitque super : nec gloria lethi
 Nobilior nostris poterat contingere votis.

III. “ *Oh ! for one hour more, and Tromp shall pay dearly for Deane’s blood !* ” was the prayer of

* Thy fall, O Deane, was not unfelt—the foe
 And friend both felt it. The surviving crew,
 Counting it a crime to have outlived their chief,
 Rushed on the enemy with tenfold force,
 As if the magic of his deathless name
 Who had so often led to daring deeds
 Inspired them with a tenfold power to strike.
 One would have thought THE SPIRIT, bodiless,
 Fought like its former self among the crew !
 One would have thought that every gun which poured
 Its deadly thunder on the foe, was fired
 By the own hand of the immortal chief,
 Who could not rest in peace upon his bier
 While but a single enemy remained
 To dim the victory his death secured.

Thus fell the Hero, happy in his fall,
 And to his *Manes* bore his honoured head,
 Encircled by a death-won diadem.
 Though *Libitina*, with a ruthless hand,
 In mid-life cut the thread of his career ;
 He had lived long—aye ! long enough, whose death
 Was full of glory, greater than the prayers
 Of fondest love could ask for the beloved.

the *Resolution*; but it was not granted. Day closed, and Deane's blood still called for vengeance. Another day was necessary for the payment of this debt. On the approach of night both fleets ceased firing, as if by mutual agreement, to repair damages, and in the morning the engagement was renewed with increased vigour by the English, who are reported to have hoisted black flags—"No Quarter!" This is said to have been done at the instigation or example of Monk, in revenge for the death of Deane. But Captain Jordan, of the *Vanguard*, to whose Journal I again refer for the continuation of the battle, makes no mention of the black flag, and only notices the death of Admiral Deane in a parenthesis, as a matter of fact, with which he had only just become acquainted by going aboard the flag-ship. And most likely it was so, for it was in accordance with the discreet taciturnity of Monk to keep the loss concealed from the Fleet as long as possible. No black flag was hoisted, for the avengers of Deane were not pirates. His death was looked upon as the fortune of war, and under all its circumstances was an *Euthanasia*—the happiest of any of the REGICIDES.

JOURNAL OF THE "VANGUARD."

June 2. Proving little wind, it was eleven in the morning ere we came to engagement at a distance; two or three hours after more closely. My Admiral, Lawson, with myself and Rear-Admiral were closely engaged (with some others). After that, the Generals and Admiral of the White came to a close engagement. Sunk

three or four. All the night little wind. We kept fair by them.

June 3. Wind this morning about four came to S.W. Went to Council aboard the General (*General Deane slain*). The result was that we should pursue the enemy as far as the shoals would permit. They stood away, close by the wind, to the southward. Made a running fight along by Blankenberg, and intended to have gone by the Wielings, but the wind veering to W.S.W. and not tide beside, we beat them along the coast till ten at night towards the Maes this day. The fight began about noon. About four a fresh gale sprung up, so that our frigates came up and plied them so hard that those whose masts or sails were torn were soon seized on. Five of them, in a huddle, being foul together, well defended themselves, though Tromp had left them. One was a Vice-Admiral, another a Rear. At my passing a broadside into them, they cried for quarter, which was given. About 13 this day were sunk or taken. The Rear-Admiral above-mentioned confessed our broadside sunk him. We anchored in 13 fathoms, about midnight.

- , 4. Tromp, with his whole fleet, we suppose, got into the Wielings or the Maes this morning. General Blake came yesterday in the *Essex*, seven or eight ships in company with him.

It was the arrival of BLAKE, on the second day, that completed the defeat of Tromp; but Captain Jordan, being far in advance in the pursuit, was not aware of his junction and decisive attack upon the extreme right of the Dutch Fleet.

The final victory was complete. Eleven men-of-war, of which one bore a Vice-Admiral's and two Rear-Admiral's flags, were taken. Six captains and between thirteen and fourteen hundred men were

made prisoners. Six Dutch ships were sunk, two blown up, and one burnt. Three fire-ships were also taken, but their names are not mentioned in Blake's and Monk's despatches.

These advantages were gained at the loss of only 126 men killed, besides General Deane and one captain, whose name, singularly enough, seems to have been forgotten or overlooked in the death of his General. The wounded, among whom was Mr. Fowler, the Advocate of the Fleet, whose thigh was fractured "but a few minutes after brave General Deane fell,"* were carried to Ipswich in the *Tenth Whelp*, and in other ships to Harwich, where Dr. Whistler and a staff of surgeons came to them from London.

IV. In recapitulating the results of this two days' battle, which has obtained the name of "*The First Battle of the North Foreland*," we will follow the same order of narrative which was observed in the account of "*The Three Days' Battle of Portland*:"—

1. English account (*official*)—

TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY.

GENTLEMEN,

Yesterday morning, being at anchor some two miles without the south-head of the Gable, early in the morning, we discovered the Dutch Fleet about two leagues to leeward; we made sail towards them, and, between eleven and twelve at noon, we were engaged, and for three hours the dispute was very sharp on both sides, which

* See Memorial of J. Fowler, S. P. O.

continued from three till six in the evening, at which time the enemy bore away right before the wind, and little more was done, only the frigates gave chase so long as there was any light to distinguish the one from the other. One of the Dutch Admirals was blown up, and three or four more sunk, as we are informed, but cannot hear that any of our own ships were lost in the engagement. Blessed be the Lord! We are at this time very fair by them, and shall endeavour our utmost to engage as soon as we can. It hath pleased the Lord to take away Major-General Deane in this encounter—an honest and able servant to this Commonwealth. He was slain by a great shot. In this engagement we have spent the greatest part of our powder and shot, and therefore I earnestly desire you that you will take care that a considerable portion may be sodainely provided us, and sent, with such victualling and water-ships as are yet behind, to be ready in Yarmouth Road upon all occasions. I have mentioned it to the Lord-General that Vice-Admiral Penn may be added to make up our number, of whose honesty and ability I hope you are well satisfied, and do desire it may be seconded by you, if you approve him. What ships are making ready in the river may, as soon as they can, be sent into Yarmouth to attend all commands. This is the best account can be given at present.

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

GEO. MONK.

From on board the *Resolution*,
14 leagues from the North
Foreland, bearing W. of us.
June 3, 1653, at 6 in the
morning.

2. TO THE LORD-GENERAL CROMWELL.

June 4, 1653.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Your Lordship's of the 2^d instant with the enclosed intelligence on this day received, and according to your Excellency's (desire) thereupon we have engaged the Dutch Fleet. A brief account of the first day's action we have already sent unto your Lordship. The next day, being the 3rd instant, we did what we could to re-engage them; and having the wind (which was but little), about noon we came within shot. After four hours' dispute with them, or thereabout, they endeavoured what they could to get away from us,

but having then a pretty fresh gale of wind, we pressed so hard upon them that we sunk and took many of them, as appears by the enclosed list; and we suppose we should have destroyed most of them but that it grew dusk, and being off Ostend, among the sands, we durst not be too bold, especially with the great ships; so that, as was thought fit we should anchor all night; which we accordingly did about ten of the clock. This morning some of our ships descried the enemy again afar off, steering towards the Weilings; whereupon we resolved to pursue them so far as with safety we might, and to range along the coast until we came to the Texel, the better to improve the present victory God hath given us. Unless we see cause to divert our course, we shall not further trouble your Lordship, but subscribe ourselves,

Your Excellency's most humble servants,

ROBERT BLAKE,
GEORGE MONK.

Prisoners, 1,350; 6 captains.

Dutch ships-of-war taken 11, whereof one Vice-Admiral and two Rear-Admirals,

„ „ sunk 6.
Waterhoys taken 2.
Ships blown up 2, amongst their own fleet, one an Admiral.

„ „ sunk 1, disaster caused by the above explosion.
Tromp and 16 ships fell on the *Resolution*, who was at first alone.
Men slain in our Fleet 126, whereof one captain and General Deane.
„ wounded, about 236.

In the General's ship 10 slain and 8 wounded. The General's sails were so shot to pieces that they were constrained to take them off and bring all new sails to yards.

3. THE DUTCH ACCOUNT. OFFICIAL.

TROMP TO THE STATES GENERAL. FIRST LETTER.

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,

The 12th instant (N.S.) we perceived the enemies hovering about Nieuport. Our forces consisted of 98 men-of-war and 6 fire ships; and those of the English between 95 and 100 sail, among which we reckoned 77 or 80 large men-of-war or frigates, well manned and provided. The two Fleets engaged in fight about 11

o'clock before noon, and ended not till night, which separated the two parties, who both stood off to sea about 9 o'clock.

We lost that day Captain Joost Bulter, whose ship was sunk with part of her men, the others being saved by our people. Captain Velzen's ship was blown up, there being but five of her men saved. This day all the Generals and subalternate officers of the Fleet came on board the Admiral, and were informed that the most part of them had so little ammunition left that 'tis impossible for us to stand a second fight. Among others Vice-Admiral de Wit has not for above three hours spending, and De Ruyter has less than he. However, we have resolved to attack the enemies this day, and so retire to Wielingen, and fight our way thither retreating, if the English persist to fight so long. In fine, we pray your High Mightinesses that we may be reinforced, and may receive the ammunition necessary, &c.

TROMP'S SECOND LETTER.

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,

Yesterday at 11 o'clock before noon I writ my last letter just as I was using all my endeavours to get the weather gage in order to fall into the middle of the enemies' Fleet, but a calm preventing us the enemies gained it, and attacked us. The fight broke not off till towards evening. There happened some disorder among some ships of the Fleet, caused, doubtless, by the ignorance and want of experience of the sea officers, which was the reason that the nimblest English sailers, coming up with them, easily intercepted them, and took or sunk them. So that, according to the report made to us this morning, we hear that the Captains Verburg, Duin, Schellinger, Laurenz, Peterz, and Westurgoo are fallen into the hands of the enemies. If there were any more taken or sunk it is more than I know yet, because I have been able to know nothing but by the report of others, and because the thick smoke arising from the cannon hindered me from discerning what passed in the fight. But, however, I am sure we have lost the captains above mentioned. It is possible that they might lose us in the night and may be gotten into some harbour, though against order.

The pilot Vander Huyden, having just now come hither, has delivered us the two letters from your High Mightinesses, dated the

9th of this month. He reports he met 17 of our ships before Schowen, and that he spoke with four of them.

The two Fleets are still in presence one of the other, and the English, with the reinforcement they have received, are now 100 sail strong of men-of-war. By the advice of all the general officers of the Fleet we have resolved to retire to Wielingen, to wait there for the deputies of your High Mightinesses to come and give order that the Fleet may receive the necessary ammunition, and a considerable reinforcement to enable them to make head against their enemies.

One Admiral ship has received several shots between wind and water, and though we have had her caulked as well as possible, yet she leaks still so much that the water has gained upon her, in spite of our pumps, above five feet in height. However, till at present, we have made shift of many hands to keep her above water. But if after all we find our labour lost we shall be obliged to run her ashore behind Ramekins

4. PRIVATE ACCOUNTS. ENGLISH.

LETTER FROM THE CHAPLAIN OF THE RESOLUTION.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I could not omit on this occasion to let your honour understand the goodness of God in his outgoings with and for His people, by sea as well as land.

Wednesday, the first of this instant, our Fleet being in Sole Bay and standing along our own shore, we espied about noon two galliot hoys that were upon scout from the enemy, to which several of our frigates gave chase, and stood very near their whole Fleet, and then returning to our own made the usual sign upon discovery of a Fleet. So the alarum went through the whole Fleet, who stood towards them; but the weather proving hazy and dark we lost sight of the enemy, and stopped upon the tide again, expecting the coming out of those ships with General Blake. But Thursday at day dawning we saw the enemys' Fleet to the leeward of us, and weighing all hands we stood with them, but the wind failed us. By that time we drew near them, and the enemy stood lashing away; yet did the *George* (Rear-Admiral Lawson) and his squadron very hotly engage the enemy for some hours; so Tromp declines engagement with our

main body and flag, and bears up to relieve Ruyter that was hotly engaged by Rear-Admiral Lawson, who with his second came very well off, and all his squadron (being the Blue) with safety and honour. And now the wind bearing about to the eastward, the enemy takes the advantage and comes with his whole power, and engages sharply for two hours, till ours had recovered the weather-gage again, and then he endeavoured to keep us all as close together as he could that he might make the best of his way, without loss, dreading our great ships. His design was, our frigates would leave them astern, and then he would deal the better with *them*. But *our Fleet did work together in better order than heretofore, and seconded one another*, which I am persuaded, by God's providence, was a terror to our enemies, otherwise, for number and quality of ships, I am persuaded they could not but reckon themselves of our equal strength. But Tromp is loath to play that game; he would not willingly fight on equal terms. However, God took away their hearts at this time, so that they fled from us this day, and next too, till noon, at which time we were within sight of Calais cliff and Dunkirk. Here they tried their policy another way, to make away with the great ships or to make them unserviceable, viz., by engagement upon the sands and in shoal water. But herein God disappointed them; for all our ships were preserved, and fought them gallantly most part of this day, one squadron or another, even till night, and then the wind blowing pretty fresh we were forced to come to an anchor, for fear of sands and shoal water in the night. The enemy will go where we cannot follow him, like the Highlanders to the mountains.

The first day the greatest execution was done, but not visible to us, further than the blowing up of one great ship of theirs and the sinking of another; but the second day we had the harvest and gleaning of the vintage, and with less loss than any heretofore; not one ship, not one commander lost, save our thrice worthy General Deane, who was shot into the body with a great shot the first broadside. Yet did God put a spirit of courage into the men and made them valiant and vigilant. The enemy lost, that were sunk, taken, and destroyed in both days' service, about 20 of his Fleet, of which were 2 Vice-Admirals and 3 Rear-Admirals.

I am, &c.

RICHARD LYONS.

Aboard the *Resolution*, off the Weilling,
4th day, 4th mnth, 53.

Another letter from Mr. Lyons says that they saw General Blake with his Fleet from their top-mast head. Rear-Admiral Lawson was ordered to wheel about and fall upon Tromp, who, with all the ships he could, fell upon the *Resolution*, and maintained a sharp fight, but Tromp was forced to retreat, and go away right before the wind. Captain Bourne, Captain of the *Resolution*, writes, "That he hoped for one hour more to end the war," and others, "That ere they have done Tromp shall pay dear for Deane's blood."*

5. Colliber's *Columna Rostrata*, 124.

On the 1st June, while the English fleet were lying at anchor in Yarmouth Road, under command of Deane and Monk joined in commission, advice was brought that the Dutch, commanded by Tromp, De Ruyter, De Witt, and Evertsen, were seen upon the coast; whereupon the fleet weighed and stood towards the enemy. On the 2nd the fight began between eleven and twelve at noon, off the south point of the Gober. The English, who were the aggressors, had 95 sail of men-of-war and five fire-ships, and the Dutch had 98 men-of-war and six fire-ships. The English Blue squadron charging through the enemies, De Ruyter's division suffered much, and himself was in great danger of being taken or sunk by Lawson till relieved by Tromp, but Lawson soon after sunk a man-of-war of 42 guns, commanded by Captain Bulter. An unfortunate shot, in the beginning of the engagement, took off the English Admiral Deane; but Monk, who was in the same ship, covering his body with his cloak, and encouraging his men, the battle continued with great fury till three o'clock, when the enemy began to hold off, and maintain a sort of running fight, which lasted till nine in the evening, about which time one of the Dutch men-of-war commanded by Cornelius Van Velsen blew up. Upon this occasion the Dutch

* Extract from Life of Sir W. Penn, i. 496, &c. from Journals of the time quoted by the Author.

historians complain that several of their captains were deficient in their duty.

The enemies retreating towards the coast of Flanders, the fight was renewed the next day about noon off Newport, with such fury that after a dispute of four hours they were entirely defeated. Admiral Blake, who joined the fleet the night before with some ships, had a share in the honour of this second victory. During the engagement Tromp, having boarded the Vice-Admiral Penn, was beaten off, and being boarded in turn was forced to blow up his deck, of which the English had made themselves masters. But being again entered by Penn and another at once, he would have been in extreme danger of being taken or ruined if not seasonably relieved by De Witte and De Ruyter. The enemies were at last so vigorously pressed that they fell into great disorder, and after the loss of many ships were forced to save themselves by flight among the flats on the side of Newport, from whence they afterwards escaped to Zealand.

The English writers affirm that in this latter fight the Dutch had six of their best ships sunk, two blown up, and eleven taken, with 1,550 prisoners, whereof six were captains of note, and that of the ships which were taken or destroyed one was a Vice-Admiral and two were Rear-Admirals. But the Dutch histories confess the loss of but seven or eight men-of-war.

On the side of the English the only considerable loss was that of the Admiral Deane; not one ship being missing, and but very few men killed, among whom was a captain. This appears not only from the concurrent testimonies of the English writers, but from the express words of the Proclamation for a Thanksgiving which was published on this occasion.

6. The *Weekly Intelligencer* has the following remarks on the victory:—

The news of the defeat given by the English on 2nd June much startled the Court of Charles, and, indeed, all France. Charles Stuart's followers gave out reports at first that the Dutch had beaten the English, and that he was to go to Holland, and that they would do great things for him. And the English (Royalists) went vapouring of it up and down the streets (of Paris), and some of them were soundly foxt (drunk). But the next day came news

to several merchants of the city, besides letters to the Courts which were kept more private, that the Dutch were beaten and had sustained a very great loss. Upon this there was a great meeting of the Council with the King, and their countenances very sad all about the French Court, and divers of the English going through the streets of Paris were so mocked and jeered at that they have been ashamed almost to show their heads abroad.

7. DUTCH ACCOUNT. PRIVATE.

From the Life of Martin Herbert Tromp, p. 120.

The Admirals Deane and Monk, who had the joint command of the English fleet, resolved to be beforehand with Tromp, by attacking him before his junction with the Zealand squadron and other ships destined for his reinforcement, but they came a day too late, so that a few poor fishermen bore the brunt of the displeasure they had conceived for so unlucky missing their blow. There were 54 of them in Terreer Road newly come from Zerikzee, of which 47 were destroyed, and of two ships that served them for convoys there was one that had but four guns, and yet defended herself so valiantly that the English frigates were forced awhile to let her alone. But at last, being attacked by a great man-of-war, she was forced to yield. Deane and Monk were informed by the prisoners taken on that occasion of the state of the Dutch fleet, and then they put them ashore upon promise that they should never serve against the English, after they had used all the flatteries they could to convert them into the service of England. The two English Admirals writ the following letter to the Parliament, to inform them of what had passed :—

“ Since our last we saw ourselves just upon the point of a bloody battle, but God having ordered it otherwise was pleased to permit Tromp and De Witt to prevent us by steering away to the northward with a great number of merchant ships, as well to convoy them that way as to reconduct the ships they should find there coming from France, but especially those returned from the West Indies. In the meantime we doubt not you have heard of the prosperities which it has pleased God to heap upon us, having put us in a condition to strike terror into the heart of the enemies' country by a descent upon their coasts, which was followed by several advantages, and chiefly by the taking of 50 fishing vessels

newly come from Zerickzee. We have put all the country in alarm for fear we should make an irruption, and that we should make use to that effect of the vessels we have taken from them. However, it is a great mortification to the poor inhabitants of Zerickzee and a great loss to the whole country, because they used to furnish fish to the towns of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. We flatter ourselves with the hopes that we shall quickly meet with Tromp. May it please God to favour the desires of those that pray for us." *

'Tis true the English had begun to carry the terror of their arms to our coasts near the Texel and the Helder, but having landed some men, they were received with so much courage and resolution as made them little stomach to venture again upon such another attempt.

The 10th and 14th May (N.S.) the English fleets sailed towards the coasts of Zealand, and on the 15th the two fleets came within five miles of one another, yet without meeting together. Our merchant fleet, consisting of 300 sail, having fetched a compass about Scotland, by the greatest happiness in the world was already safely arrived into our ports, without seeing any enemies by the way. Tromp having convoyed our merchant ships northward as far as Hitland, and not finding those there that were to come from France, and which he had orders to conduct home, returned towards the coasts of Holland about the end of the month, and entered into the Maes, where he received a reinforcement of seventeen ships of war and one fire-ship, brought him by Rear-Admiral Floriz from Zealand, upon which he went to take the Admiral's ship, the *Brederode*, which was there repaired, having been extremely endamaged in the last fight. † On Whit-Sunday Tromp had a conference with three deputies of the States General; the result of their consultation was, that Tromp should make towards the Downs of England, in hopes to meet there with some of the Parliament's ships. On the 4th June they discovered some of them to the northward, upon which, holding a council of war, it was resolved that De Ruyter, with his squadron, jointly with Rear-Admiral Floriz, should steer to the southward, whilst Tromp, with his Vice-Admiral De Witt, should move to the northward, that so by shutting up the enemies' squadrons within the Downs, they might

* This letter, if not apocryphal, is probably altered to suit the subsequent statements of the biographer of Tromp.

† With Blake.

attack him with greater effect. But the English, especially Bodley, who was returned with eight men-of-war and eight merchant ships from the Mediterranean, was come to an anchor under the castles of the Downs, of which Tromp had had advice. Bodley, to escape him, had removed to the westward, so that Admiral Floriz, coming thither first, found no more but two little ships that were retired under the cannon of the castles of Dover and the Downs. The Dutch began to cannonade them briskly, to which they returned as vigorously; but the Hollanders, at length getting nearer Dover, found in that road five small vessels, of which three were taken, the fourth fled, and the fifth retired quite under the castle. The English fired most terribly from the Castle of Dover upon the Hollanders, but Tromp answered them so vigorously that all the inhabitants of the country were alarm'd at it, knowing not where to fly, and durst not stay in their houses, which they saw unroofed by the Hollanders' cannon balls.

After that expedition Tromp advanced towards Swartness, where being informed that the English fleet had appeared near the Vlie, he thereupon resolved to go in search of them, and on the 14th, having discovered them over against Nieuport, he made directly up to them.

The Dutch fleet was then composed of 98 men-of-war, but all of them much smaller and nothing near so well provided for war as those of the English. The wind was N.E., and the English had the weather gage. The two fleets having remained some time in presence of one another, without any offer made by the English to attack the Hollanders, Tromp did all he could, by luffing, to get up to them. When he came nigh them the English began at length to cast their fleet into a line of battle, and divided it into three squadrons. They at first made a motion to enclose the Dutch within a crescent,* but when they saw the others observe them very narrowly, and seem resolved to stand them, their squadrons joined again, and advanced within cannon shot of their enemy, and then *Deane* and *Monk* gave the signal for battle, and so the two fleets engaged about 11 before noon.

The wind being northward, favoured De Ruyter's squadron, so that he, taking advantage of that opportunity, fell upon the Eng-

* This must be a mistake of the reporter, for the English fleet was never in line.

lish and got the weather gage of them, and then the two fleets most vigorously charged one another. Admiral *Deane* was killed by one of the first shot that flew from the Hollanders. Monk, seeing him fall, covered the body with his cloak, and endeavoured to encourage the seamen. The fight was furious and bloody, particularly between Lawson's and De Ruyter's squadrons, for this latter fought with such obstinate courage and eagerness that he consumed most of his powder. Then Tromp came in to his assistance; which Monk perceiving, advanced with his main strength, and fell upon the Dutch, which redoubled the fury of the fight and the courage of the combatants.

Lawson, at the head of nine or ten frigates, advanced with intent to intercept the captains, Vander Zoon and Joosh Bulter, of Groningen, who made great resistance; but at length Bulter's ship, called the *Camel*, having received four or five shot between wind and water, was forced to yield, and presently after sunk. Bulter, who was wounded with a splinter in the middle of his body, died with his drawn hanger in his hand, and was swallowed up, half dead, with part of his wounded men; the rest of the crew saved themselves on board of Vander Zoon, who ran great hazard of being involved in the same misfortune as Bulter, being likewise surrounded by his enemies, but he made his way through them by sinking one of their ships.

Tromp made all imaginable efforts to grapple the English Admiral, but never could get near enough to him. While they were fighting, the wind happening quite to fall, the English White squadron was by that means separated from the rest of the fleet. The Hollanders, willing to improve that opportunity, advanced with design to intercept it; while the English, on the other hand, did all they could to rejoin their forces, but before they could effect it the Dutch pressed close upon the English Blue squadron, and with broadsides made their way through the English Fleet. The victory having for a long time wavered, began then to declare itself for the Hollanders, who, making their enemies give way, pursued them; but, a great disorder happening in their Fleet, the English knew so well to make their advantage of it that they gained the weather gage of them, which gave occasion to a second engagement no less bloody than the first, and which caused the destruction of most part of the ships that composed the fleets.

About 9 o'clock at night another English (qu. *Dutch*) ship was

burnt, but they continued still fighting till the night parted them, and then the English stood to the northward, and the Hollanders to the southward. But, unfortunately, when the enemy had already retired out of cannon shot, as Captain Van Velzen was firing off his last shot, his powder took fire and blew up his ship, with almost all his men, hardly *five* escaping of the whole ship's crew.

The whole night was spent in repairing damages sustained in the battle, and mending up as well as possible the ships that were most battered.

At break of day the next morning the two Fleets found themselves not above a mile distant from one another. Lieutenant-Admiral Tromp put out the usual signal to call his officers on board him, at whose arrival he heard with much vexation the ill news that most part of the ships of his Fleet wanted ammunition, by which they were disabled to stand a second battle.

It must be confessed that if Tromp had been seconded as he ought to have been the day before by some of his Fleet that failed in their duty, and were false to the fidelity which they had sworn to their country, the English would have been so well reduced to reason that they would hardly have had any mind to begin a new battle the next day. Vice-Admiral de Witt had so small a quantity of powder and bullets left that it would hardly serve him for three hours firing, and De Ruyter had less than he. And, besides, a great many other ships were much weakened by the numbers of men they had killed and sick. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages Tromp was in the mind to venture a second battle, as thinking, if he were worsted, to retreat towards Wielingen to take in necessary ammunition and provision.

Second Day's Fight.

Lieutenant-Admiral Tromp had done all he could from the first appearance of the enemy to tack to the south-east to get the weather gage, which the English had, that so he might the more successfully force his way into the middle of their Fleet. About 8 o'clock the vanguards of the two Fleets began to fire at one another at a distance, but Tromp, pursuing his design, had already, about 10 o'clock, got Dunkirk at the S.S.E. of him, and was in hopes to get up to the main body of the English Fleet and to intercept a good part of their ships; but they were no sooner engaged than there happened a calm, which was the cause that the Hollanders found

themselves to the leeward, and the English had the weather gage, which opportunity they improving, came thundering about 11 o'clock upon the Dutch Fleet with so much the greater advantage, because Blake had reinforced them in the night with a squadron of 28* men-of-war, which he had brought with him from Portsmouth. Tromp thereby found himself obliged to close up the rear of his Fleet, to endeavour, as well as it was possible, to sustain the shock of the enemies. Tromp, De Witt, De Ruyter, and some others, fought with unparalleled bravery, but, unhappily, from the very beginning of the fight, a disorder having happened in the Dutch Fleet from want of experience in the officers, they began to give way, and, at length, were part of them taken and part sunk.

Nay, the confusion was so great among them that some of them quitted their fire-ships after having set fire to them themselves, who endeavoured to palliate their infamous cowardice by pretending they had received several shots between wind and water.† Although the valiant Tromp saw himself thus deserted by his rear guard, yet he lost not his courage for that, but possessing still the same presence of mind, and being animated by reflexions upon his past glory, and by the hopes and inextinguishable passion he had still to maintain it to the last, grappled the Vice-Admiral Penn, boarded him, and poured so many men into his ship that he had already made himself master of her, when thirteen‡ English frigates tacking about upon him so cruelly handled him that they forced him to let go his hold. The enemies, likewise, in their turn grappling Admiral Tromp, poured in so great a number of seamen on board of him that his men were forced to fly all under deck. Upon which Tromp, seeing himself overpowered with numbers, thought there was no other remedy but to set fire to some barrels of gunpowder, which he did so effectually that in an instant, as by a clap of thunder, the enemies were blown pell mell into the air, and their bodies were seen to fly about, half burnt, and rent to pieces. Yet this blow did not so much discourage the English, but they came on again and charged him afresh; and he had certainly been lost had not De

* Only 13, besides Blake did not join until nearly the close of the second day, when he certainly turned the scale, and took away all hope from Tromp.

† Which is not improbable, for the English would naturally endeavour to sink the fire-ships.

‡ Perhaps Tradition had thus represented the succour of Blake's *thirteen* ships.

Witt and De Ruyter, espying the great danger he was in, come up, without losing time, and disengaged him about 7 o'clock in the evening.

Captain Schellinger's ship being much battered and deserted by most of her seamen fell into the English Fleet, and was soon after burnt to ashes. The ship *Westergoo*, being surrounded by three English men-of-war that furiously battered her on all sides, was forced to yield, just when she was ready to sink. A little before that Captain Verburg's ship, having had her helm shot away, fell into the enemies' hands, and after a vigorous resistance was at last constrained to yield. Tromp, and the other general officers fought till within night, when the English made off to sea, steering northward; but the Hollanders made for Ostend, where they arrived about mid-day, and cast anchor. The next morning the English appeared again, but because there were so many ships in the Dutch Fleet very much shattered, and that wanted both provision and ammunition, Tromp, with the advice of the other general officers, thought it best to retreat with the whole Fleet towards Weilingen.

Tromp and the rest of the general officers being come to Flushing into the presence of the Deputies of the States, they all unanimously declared that it was impossible for them to continue their services unless the Fleet were reinforced with a considerable number of great ships, well appointed and furnished for war, and so much the more because there were in the English Fleet above 50 men-of-war the least of which was better than that in which Tromp sailed, whereas, on the contrary, there were reckoned above 50 ships in the Dutch Fleet that were unfit for service. De Ruyter made no scruple to say that he intended to go no more to sea unless the Fleet were reinforced and made more numerous, and were better armed than it had been before. And Vice-Admiral De Witt being afterwards, in the presence of the Assembly of the States, added to their complaints these words: "Why should I keep any longer silence? I am here before my sovereigns, and am free to speak; and I can say that the English are, at present, masters both of us and of the seas."

The States General, therefore, endeavoured to remedy all these disorders and to repair all the losses they had lately sustained, as well as it was possible in so pressing a juncture. But in the meantime the English Fleet held the coasts of Holland as it were besieged, after they had stopped up the North of the Texel.*

* Life of Tromp, p. 132.

Some of the facts mentioned in the preceding statement are borne out by the postscript of Blake's and Monk's letter to Cromwell, especially that part in which allusion is made to the desertion of Tromp by some of his ships. "By one that was with Tromp's Fleet is certified, that they gave the men much strong water at the beginning of their going to fight, which made them, for six or seven hours on Thursday, very desperate, but afterwards, the strength of the liquor being over, the men were abundantly cowardized; that the captains were so vexed that they tore their hair and were much troubled, and thirty of them forced to fly away, and Tromp, getting into a small frigate, sailed and shot after them, and yet could get back but thirteen."

From the above-mentioned fact or report arose the English proverb of "*Dutch courage*," a phrase still current in our sea-ports. In this particular instance it may have been true, for the Dutch crews had been recently engaged in a hard fought battle with Blake, and their exhausted strength may have required stimulants; but, as a general rule, nothing can be further from the truth than the insinuation conveyed by the proverb, for no braver seamen than the Dutch have ever exchanged broadsides with the English. Gun for gun, and man for man, a Dutch man-of-war will fight longer and kill more of our men than a ship of any other continental nation with which we have as yet ever engaged at sea. The courage of the French may

be more fiery, and that of the Spaniard more chivalrous, but the real "Dutch courage" is more cool, more orderly, and more enduring than either, while Dutch seamanship is scarcely, if at all, inferior to that of the English. One great proof of this is, that the Dutch, like the English, always fired into the ship and not at the rigging, that is, contemplated a victory and not an escape.

V. The effects of this battle were felt on both sides of the Channel. The English were elated, and the Dutch correspondingly depressed. But the death of GENERAL RICHARD DEANE modified both the joys of the one and the griefs of the other nation, while the blaze of glory in which he fell justified the consolation of the laureat—

—*nec gloria Lethi*

Nobilior nostris poterat contingere votis.

Several letters* from the sea coasts mention his death with much feeling :—

1. "I am heartily sorry to hear of the loss of the gallant General Deane. I hope the Lord will make it up to us in some other way.

" PETER PETT.

" Chatham, June 4, 1653."

2. "The loss of our worthy old friend General Deane is indeed a great loss. The Lord make it up to us! I trust He will. Yet it is good to see God in such dispensations. He hath an end in it which we shall learn hereafter. We ought to be affected with the loss of the nation's worthies.

" THOS. WILSON.

" To Tho^s. Kelsey, Esq. Lt.-Gov^r. of Dover Castle.

" Dover, June 6."

* S. P. O.

Other letters expressive of a similar feeling may be cited, but are superfluous, for there was but one opinion of the loss, namely, that it was a national one.

But the spirit in which the war was undertaken by the English is remarkable. The war, if we may take the private correspondence of the day as an index to the public feeling, was a missionary war! in which "The Glory of God" was held out as the chief object of achievement. John Poortmans, who seems to have been acting as the secretary of the Generals on board the *Resolution*, writes from off the Texel, June 9: "We are now plying it to and again, between the Texel and the Fly, to hinder all ships coming from thence to join with that part of the Dutch Fleet which are at the Wellings, as well as to stop up their fishing and merchandize trade. Wherein I hope the Lord will be with us, that if He hath appointed that nation for mercy, He will bring down their lofty spirits to yield to such a peace as may stand next for His glory in the exaltation of the Lord Jesus Christ, who must now be King, though the heathen rage and the people imagine a vain thing. The time of Antichrist's glory is now expired, and as he hath had a time to rise and grow, so now must the people of the Lord have their time, whose kingdom shall never fall, being built upon the Son of God, who was, and is, and shall be to all eternity."

"I am very willing to believe," says Major Bourne to the Commissioners of the Admiralty,

“that God hath borne witness against those who have lifted up themselves against Him and his interest.”

“I hope the Lord, who hath been pleased to own us, will continue in owning us, and perfect the work which he hath began by us,” is the prayer of Thomas Poynter, who writes from on board the *Resolution*, June 5, to the same Commissioners.

From these and other expressions of even the officials of the Government, it is evident that in their estimation the cause of the Commonwealth was the cause of God, and that they regarded the Dutch and all other enemies of the State as mere children of Antichrist. It is easy to call this fanaticism and to ridicule it as folly, but it was POWER and it led to VICTORY.

In Holland the news of the two days' battle was received with consternation. “The people are in great misery,” says a correspondent of an English Journal, “and earnestly wish for peace.” “Great differences there are amongst themselves about the Prince of Orange,” is the testimony of a trumpeter who had returned on board the *Generals*, after bearing a message from them to the States. Nothing could reconcile them to the defeats which they had sustained.

The biographer of Tromp informs us, that “Disturbances began to be experienced in several towns, especially in Eçknisen, which depended upon the herring fishery, now intercepted by the English. The mob appeared in arms and seized upon the

town house, the gates, the ramparts, and all the stores of warlike ammunition; hoisted the flag of the Prince of Orange in opposition to that of the States, and fired upon the magistrates and the troops sent to appease them. The tumults were at length composed by the prudent management of the Deputies from the States and the Sieur Brederode, sent from the Hague."

The States, at the same time, displayed such activity in restoring their affairs that in a few weeks Tromp was again at sea with a fleet of between 80 and 90 men-of-war, to join De Witt, whose squadron had been shut up in the Texel. They effected a junction with great gallantry, Tromp fighting his way through the blockading fleet.

On the 29th July the united Dutch Fleet came out and offered battle, when another sanguinary engagement ensued, in which the Dutch were again defeated with a greater loss of ships and men than in any previous encounter; but their greatest and most irreparable loss was that of the gallant TROMP, who was killed on the quarter-deck of his flag-ship by a musket ball, which entered his left temple. The circumstances of his death, as described by his biographer, are very picturesque and interesting.

His ship being covered with a thick cloud of smoke, was not to be seen any longer; and in the meanwhile the English Rear-Admiral, followed by some frigates, approaching them, there flew from the *third* of that rank a fatal ball that struck him on the left temple as he was giving order about his guns, and laid him for dead at the feet of his lamenting seamen. So mournful an accident pierced them to the quick, that to revenge the death of so valiant a

man, and that it might not be said that the author of so terrible an act went unpunished, a common soldier of the Admiral's ship, advancing upon the deck, shot the Captain of the aforesaid frigate in the cheek, and felled him dead with a musket bullet as he was making bravadoes with his drawn hanger in his hand.

Lieutenant-Admiral Tromp being carried immediately into the captain's chamber, was laid on a pillow, and some moments after gave up the ghost, after he had exhorted his seamen to fight like men of courage, and prayed God to take into his protection all that were under his command. Some report that at this approach of death he addressed these words to his men—

"I have finished my course, have good courage."

Thus the short space of one month put an end, by a similar death, to the rival Admirals, *Richard Deane* and *Martin Herbert Tromp*. Each of them fell on the open deck of his flag-ship :—

—nec gloria Lethi

Nobilior nostris poterat contingere votis.

The fall of TROMP reminds us, in all its circumstances except victory, of that of our own hero, NELSON. Nor is the parallel confined to their deaths. Their lives, actions, and characters were as nearly alike as the difference of times and countries admit. The same brave spirit and honest heart, the same devoted patriotism distinguished them both. For if of Martin Herbert Tromp it could be said that "*he was very much an Englishman in all things but his nativity,*"* of Horatio Nelson it is recorded, and for many generations yet to come it will be remembered, that in mind, and heart, and every feeling, he was, above all

* Heath.

who have ever served their country, an ENGLISH-MAN.

Tromp was accompanied in death by more commanders of the enemy than had ever yet graced the fall of a rival chief in a naval battle. Seven captains of the English fleet, two of whom were acting admirals, fell in this action, and five were wounded. The frigate from which the fatal shot which slew Tromp was fired, was the *Tulip*, 31, Captain Joseph Cubitt. She belonged to the rear squadron of the Rear-Admiral's division, and her Captain was the only one in that division who was killed—thus corroborating the account of Tromp's biographer.

VI. The funeral of *Martin Harpertz Tromp* was solemnised with extraordinary pomp, at the expense of the States, at Delft, where a costly monument is erected in the church, recording his great deeds, while his great rival Blake lies in St. Margaret's Churchyard, cast out from Westminster Abbey, with Richard Deane by his side—

Unwept, unhonoured, and unsung.

as far, at least, as the nation's gratitude is concerned; and "with no other monument to his memory than that of his deathless renown."

The order of TROMP'S funeral procession is interesting as showing that in all European countries similar forms and ceremonies attended the burial of a great general of whom his country was proud; and I insert it as affording a parallel to those of

Deane and Blake, and Monk, all of whom were interred, with similar honours, at the national cost.

Tromp was buried in the choir of the old church at Delft, September 5, 1653.

THE ORDER OF THE FUNERAL.

Four hundred Guards of the States trailing pikes and colours.

Four Trumpeters.

The States Heralds, armed *cap-a-pied*.

The Great Admiral's Flag.

The Little Standard.

The Coat of Arms, Gauntlets, Head-piece, Spurs of Knighthood (conferred by Charles I.), and Sword.

The Funeral Hearse laden with the personal weapons of the deceased, and covered by a Black Pall supported by Four Captains.

THE BODY.

The Commissioners of the Admiralty.

Three Sons of Tromp.

His Family and Relations.

THE STATES GENERAL.

The Council of State.

The States of Holland.

The Great Council.

The Court.

The Chamber of Accounts of Holland.

Ministers of the Church.

Burghers of the Hague.

Four Companies of Armed Burghers received the Body at Delft, and fired Three Vollies over his Grave.

The monument erected to Tromp was of the usual kind in those days. The tomb was surmounted by an effigy of the hero in white marble, surrounded by military trophies. The épitaph in Latin, is neither better nor worse than the Latin epitaphs of an age remarkable for what we should call bad taste; for it is replete with strained *anti-*

theses and exaggerations. But it is, notwithstanding, an honest expression of the public admiration, for one who was deservedly considered “*The first Captain of his age*” at sea; and whose renown has been only once equalled since—by our own Nelson. For of Blake, though it may be said “*Quam proximè accessit,*” yet not even Bridgwater, the town that gave him birth, can place him on the same pedestal with TROMP.

ÆTERNÆ MEMORIÆ

Qui Batavos, Qui Virtutem, ac verum laborem amas
Lege ac Luge.

Batavæ Gentis decus, Virtutis Bellicæ fulmen,
Hic jacet, Qui vivus nunquam jacuit:
Et Imperatorem Stantem debere mori, exemplo suo docuit.
Amor Civium, Hostium Terror, Oceani Stupor,
MARTINUS HARPERTZ TROMPIUS.

Quo nomine plures continentur laudes, quam hic lapis
capit, sane angustior:
Et cui Oriens et Occidens Mare
Materia Triumphorum, Universus Orbis
Theatrum Gloriæ posuit.

Prædonum certa perniciēs, commercii felix Assertor,
Familiaritate utilis non vilis, postquam Nautas et Milites
Durum genus paterno et cum efficaci et benigno rexit imperio,
Post quinquaginta Prælia, quorum Dux fuit, aut pars magna,
Post insignes, supra fidem, victorias,
Post summos, infra meritum, honores,
Tandem Bello Anglico

Tantum non victor, certe Invictus,
X. August. Anno Æræ Christianæ M D LIII.
Ætat. LVI.

Vivere et Vincere desiit.
Fœderati Belgæ Patres Heroi Optime merito.
M. P.

VII. The death of Tromp so damped the warlike ardour of the Hollanders, that they willingly accepted overtures of peace from Cromwell, now Protector of England; and conceded the honour of the flag, and a pecuniary compensation for the losses sustained by the British merchants at Amboyna.

The war thus concluded had lasted only one year and eleventh months, and yet, in that short time, the English had taken seven hundred prizes, valued by the Dutch themselves at sixty-two millions of guilders, or nearly six millions of pounds sterling. Those taken by the Dutch did not amount to above a fourth of that sum in value. This great difference, however, shows not so much the superior naval power of England, as the more extended commerce of Holland, which received almost a death-blow by this war.

The English were victorious in five general engagements. Tromp achieved two victories over Blake, and De Ruyter gained one over Ascue; but the two former were gained by overwhelming numbers, and the latter was not decisive. Nevertheless the English have never met, before or since, any enemy at sea so nearly equal to themselves. There was, then, no exaggeration in the tribute to Tromp—“*Tantum non victor,*” and but little, and that excusable, in the phrase—“*Certe Invictus.*”

VIII. The most remarkable event of these great

naval battles was the first application, by the ENGLISH, of the manœuvre subsequently so successful at the battles of Cape St. Vincent and Trafalgar—that of BREAKING THE LINE.

The credit of this conception has been, popularly, ascribed to Sir John Jervis, but was strenuously claimed by the late Lieutenant-General Sir Howard Douglas for his own father, who was flag-captain to Sir John Jervis at the battle of St. Vincent's, and who, he affirmed, suggested it to his Admiral. Sir Walter Scott, on the other hand, claimed the original idea for his friend and countryman Clerk, a civilian, who had written a very able book on "Naval Tactics," some time before the battle of St. Vincent's, from which book Scott maintained that Captain Douglas derived or might have derived his information.

But Mr. Granville Penn has since, most successfully, vindicated the claim of no less a person than TROMP, to the original conception and first application of this *manœuvre*, which he employed against the Spanish Fleet, whose line of battle he broke, and which he signally defeated in the Downs, in the year 1639, within cannon-range of the English coast, and in the sight of thousands of spectators. Mr. Granville Penn further shows that, at the battle of the North Foreland, June 2, 1653, this manœuvre was employed against Tromp himself, by DEANE and MONK—but he asserts that it was at the suggestion of Vice-Admiral W. Penn that they adopted it. The only ground for this confident

assertion seems to be that *Penn* was a sailor born and bred; and that Deane and Monk were both soldiers, and therefore unlikely to have thought of anything of the kind. So at least argues Mr. Granville Penn.

But he did not know—or had forgotten—that DEANE had been a sailor long before he became a soldier, and that he had risen "from a common mariner, to the reputation of a bold and *excellent* officer." This is on Clarendon's authority. I have shown how Clarendon might have been mistaken as to the origin of Richard Deane, and that Deane was *not* a "*common mariner*," in the sense in which that expression is usually taken, *i.e.* "a man before the mast." That he had served *at sea* for some time—probably years—before he took arms on land, is affirmed by several authorities. One writer indeed, says that he had been a *boatswain*—which, if true, would prove that he had served on board of a man-of-war. However this may have been, it is clear that he might have learned at sea some of that seamanship which he was, in later life, called upon to exhibit in practice; and Clarendon had very good grounds for knowing that he had "risen to the reputation of an *excellent* officer." This "excellence" must be taken in a professional sense—that of a good naval commander.

This being the fact, there appears to be no necessity for *Admiral* Deane's application to Vice-Admiral Penn, for any especial advice as to the

manner in which they should attack the enemy. At any rate, being the Commander-in-Chief, DEANE had the option of accepting or rejecting his advice—supposing Penn to have given it; and (as Monk is expressly excluded by Mr. Granville Penn, as a landsman; and as not having availed himself of the manœuvre afterwards when he commanded in chief,) the same credit, at least, is due to Deane for adopting Penn's supposed suggestion, as has been given to Sir John Jervis for adopting that of his Captain Douglas.

But I go beyond this limited assumption, and claim for Admiral-General DEANE the unassisted adoption of the idea of "*breaking the enemies' line,*" either from a recollection of Tromp's defeat of the Spaniards, or independently of that example, *as a military officer carrying into execution at sea those tactics which he had observed to be so effectual on land.*

For the methodical division of the fleet into *Red*, *White*, and *Blue*, squadrons—of which this was, as far as I can learn, the first instance—corresponds exactly with the ordinary arrangement of an army in the field—as at Naseby and elsewhere; and denotes the manipulation of a *Major-General* of the army.

But supposing that the tripartite division of a fleet was no novelty, and that it had long prevailed at sea—what is more likely than that to a *military* general officer it would suggest a *military use*?—that is, of bearing down upon the enemy who was

in *line*—in *three columns*?—and breaking through at three points, for the purpose of doubling upon him, and inclosing him between two fires at those points, and overwhelming him in detail, before he could bring his other ships together to his assistance? In this manner many a great victory has been gained on land, and a good land General, like Deane, would naturally resort to it, if in command at sea.

Mr. Granville Penn shows that previously to 2nd June, 1653, engagements at sea were little else than duels of ships. Ships were laid alongside of or run aboard ships—and, if practicable, two or more would fall upon one, and carry it before relief could arrive.

But nothing like *system* had ever been used by an *English* Admiral before Deane and Monk “*charged*” Tromp and De Ruyter in three columns at the memorable battle of the North Foreland.

The only wonder is that Blake, who had also been a Colonel before he was a General at Sea, did not employ these tactics in the three days’ battle of Portland. The answer is that Blake had never *commanded*, nor, so far as we know, had ever been present at a pitched battle on land; whereas *Deane* had seen almost all the great battles of the Civil War, and had commanded a brigade as Major-General both at Preston and Worcester. Neither Blake nor Monk had had such military experience on shore. *Blake* had been distinguished by two memorable defences, those of Lynn and Bridgwater,

and they were among the most gallant actions of the war; but he never had a command in a field of battle. *Monk* had seen some severe fighting in Ireland, and had proved his capacity for hard work in the storming of Dundee, but he never commanded even a brigade in a great battle. RICHARD DEANE, on the other hand, had served through the campaigns of the Earl of Essex and of Sir Thomas Fairfax in the West of England. He had been present at the battles of Edgehill, of Newbury (both), of Naseby, of Preston, and of Worcester; besides the minor, but still instructive, engagements of Langport and Torrington; and the storming of Sherborn Castle, of Taunton, of Dartmouth, and the sieges of Exeter, Bristol, and Oxford. If experience could teach him, he ought to have been a soldier, *factus ad unguem*, before he arrived "at the reputation of a bold and excellent officer" at sea.

It may not be then too much to assume that Richard Deane, when second in command to Blake, at the "three days' battle of Portland," discovered, by the terrible losses of his flag-ship, the necessity of some *system* of naval tactics, which should prevent a recurrence of such a calamity as that which had so nearly proved fatal to Blake and himself. He might also have thought that it was owing to the want of some system of combination and mutual support, on the part of the English, that the Dutch were enabled to carry away so many of their shattered ships and convoy out of the battle. The

anxious mind of a "General at Sea" would naturally, under such circumstances, take counsel of himself as a *General at Shore*, and endeavour to ascertain how these difficulties and dangers were to be overcome. And the "CHARGE," in *three columns of ships*, would suggest itself as that plan of attack most likely to be effectual.

This plan of attack was adopted *for the first time in English History*, by General-Admiral RICHARD DEANE, and succeeded!

Richard Deane fell by the first broadside of the enemy, and therefore the friends of Vice-Admiral Penn, the *sailor*, could, without contradiction, and with perfect plausibility, claim the honour of the plan of attack for him. While the friends of his commander, Richard Deane (branded to all time as a REGICIDE) could expect no other answer to their claim for *him*, than the proverbial Jewish sneer, "*Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?*"

The extent, almost ludicrous, to which this prejudice has been carried by writers professing to be historians of England, is shown by Mr. Granville Penn, who remarks that Sir William Temple, in recounting the victories of England by sea, entirely ignores those of the first Dutch war, solely because they were gained by the Admirals of THE COMMONWEALTH. And yet the same Granville Penn remarks that "Of the Regicide Deane, *at sea*, we know little or nothing, except that he received the recompense of a cannon ball!"* Had he inquired, without pre-

* Life of Penn, i. 410.

judice, he might have known something more. He might have discovered that it was *Deane* who first found out the merits of his ancestor *Penn*; and that to the countenance and patronage of *Richard Deane*, William Penn was indebted for his most important step in the ladder of promotion.

But the biographer of the REGICIDE has, after all, very little reason to complain. For if ROBERT BLAKE has no enemy's skull out of which he may quaff mead in that valhalla of naval worthies, no wonder that nothing is accorded to the merits of RICHARD DEANE. He must be contented with the tribute of a contemporary writer, to whom those merits were well known :—

And is a duty or a danger near,
On land or sea, and noble Deane not there ?

and who has only translated and slightly magnified the testimony of another :*—

Quid raptim te, *Deane*, canam dignissime *Deane* !
Et terrâ pelagoque potens, in utrumque parate !

* Payne Fisher.

CHAPTER XXII.

FUNERAL OF GENERAL DEANE. — HIS LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT.

I. The remains of the deceased General-at-Sea were conveyed, immediately after the victory, to Gravesend, where they awaited the orders of the Council of State. These were soon received. A public funeral in Westminster Abbey was decreed to him, and with honours similar to those which, two years before, had been awarded to Ireton. The son-in-law of Cromwell and the Lord-Deputy of Ireland was thought to be entitled to the distinction of a Royal funeral, and obtained it; but second only to Ireton in rank and services—for HE also had governed a kingdom and died in arms for his country, was RICHARD DEANE, and his funeral was also conducted on a scale corresponding to his rank and renown.

“ The body of the deceased General,” says Whitelocke, “ was brought, on the 24th of June, in a funeral barge, by water, from Gravesend to Westminster, attended by many barges and boats in mourning equipage, and many hundreds of great shots were discharged as it passed from ships, and from the Tower, and from guns placed in the way; and he was honourably buried in Westminster Abbey. Secretary Thurloe sent to me and to others to be present at the funeral, where they were accordingly, and a very great company of soldiers, and Cromwell himself was there.”*

* Whitelocke's Memorials, 1653. See also Public Intelligencer, &c.

The hearse was received at the west door of the Abbey by the great officers of State, and the coffin was borne by a select party of soldiers—most probably of the General's own regiment—to Henry the Seventh's Chapel, and deposited in one of the royal vaults, which already contained the remains of the Earl of Essex, of Popham, and of Ireton.

There was a general similarity in all these great funerals, regulated by heraldic rules, varying only in degree according to the rank of the deceased. The funerals of Essex and Ireton were especially magnificent, the Parliament undertaking the former and Cromwell the latter. Both Houses of Parliament followed their late Lord-General, and the insignia of Ireland distinguished the hearse of the Lord-Deputy, while led horses proclaimed the high rank of the great deceased. Both Essex and Ireton had lain in state previous to their interment; but the General-at-Sea does not appear to have been considered entitled to that honour, at least in London. He may have lain in some kind of state at Greenwich. His obsequies, however, were sufficiently sumptuous, if we may judge of them by those of his comrade Robert Blake, who, four years later, was carried with similar pomp to the same resting-place; the funeral of Blake being directed to be celebrated "*in such sort as was done for the funerall of Generall Deane,*" which shows the estimation in which General Deane was held by his contemporaries.

I have not yet been able to find any official document or heraldic programme of General *Deane's* funeral, but there is a memorandum of the intended procession at *Blake's*, among the MSS.* in the British Museum, in the handwriting of the undertaker who conducted it, which we may fairly assume to have been copied from the programme of Richard Deane's. The Order in Council relating to Blake's funeral is as follows:—

1.

Whitehall, August 13, 1657.

Ordered,

That the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy doe forthwith give orders for the interment of General Blake in the Abbey Church of Westminster, and for all things requisite to be prepared for the funerall of Generall Blake, *in such wise as was done for the funerall of Generall Deane*; and that they give directions for preparing Greenwich House for the reception of the body of Generall Blake in order to his funerall. And that the housekeeper, and all other persons concerned, are to yield obedience thereunto.

HEN. SCOBELL,

Clerk of the Council.

2.

MINUTES OF COUNCIL RELATING TO THE EXPENCES.

Tuesday, Nov. 24, 1657,

At the Council at Whitehall.

In consideration of the report of the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy, that they, the said Commissioners, being desired to give orders for the interment of Generall Blake in the Abbey Church at Westminster, and for all things requisite to be prepared for the said funerall, *in such sort as was done for the funerall of Generall Deane*; the charges of the said funerall amount

* Addl. 12,514. Pluto, clxxxix. E.

to five hundred and fifty pounds, for payment whereof they pray that order may be made.

Ordered,

W. JESSOP, Clerk of the Council.

PROGRAMME OF GENERAL BLAKE'S FUNERAL.

Four Trumpets.

Pennon of his Arms, borne by a Major.

Three Trumpets.

Guidon, borne by a Major.

Three Trumpets.

Barge with the Great Banner of the Admiralty.

Three Trumpets.

Barge with the Banner of the State.

Three Trumpets.

Barge with the Banner of his own Arms.

Jaumes and Gauntlets, borne by ———.

Sword and Target, borne by ———.

Four Trumpets.

Mantle, Helmet, and Crest, borne by York Herald.

Coat of Armour, borne by Norroy.

The BARGE with the CORPSE,

Covered with black velvet, adorned with escho. shields and pensilles.

The Kindred, attended by Six Gentlemen, three on each side, carrying Six Bannerolles of y^e several Matches in order, covered with black.

The Lords of the Council in y^e Chief Barge of Glass.

The Admiralty and Navy Barges.

The Lord Mayor his Barge.

The Officers of the Army and Navy.

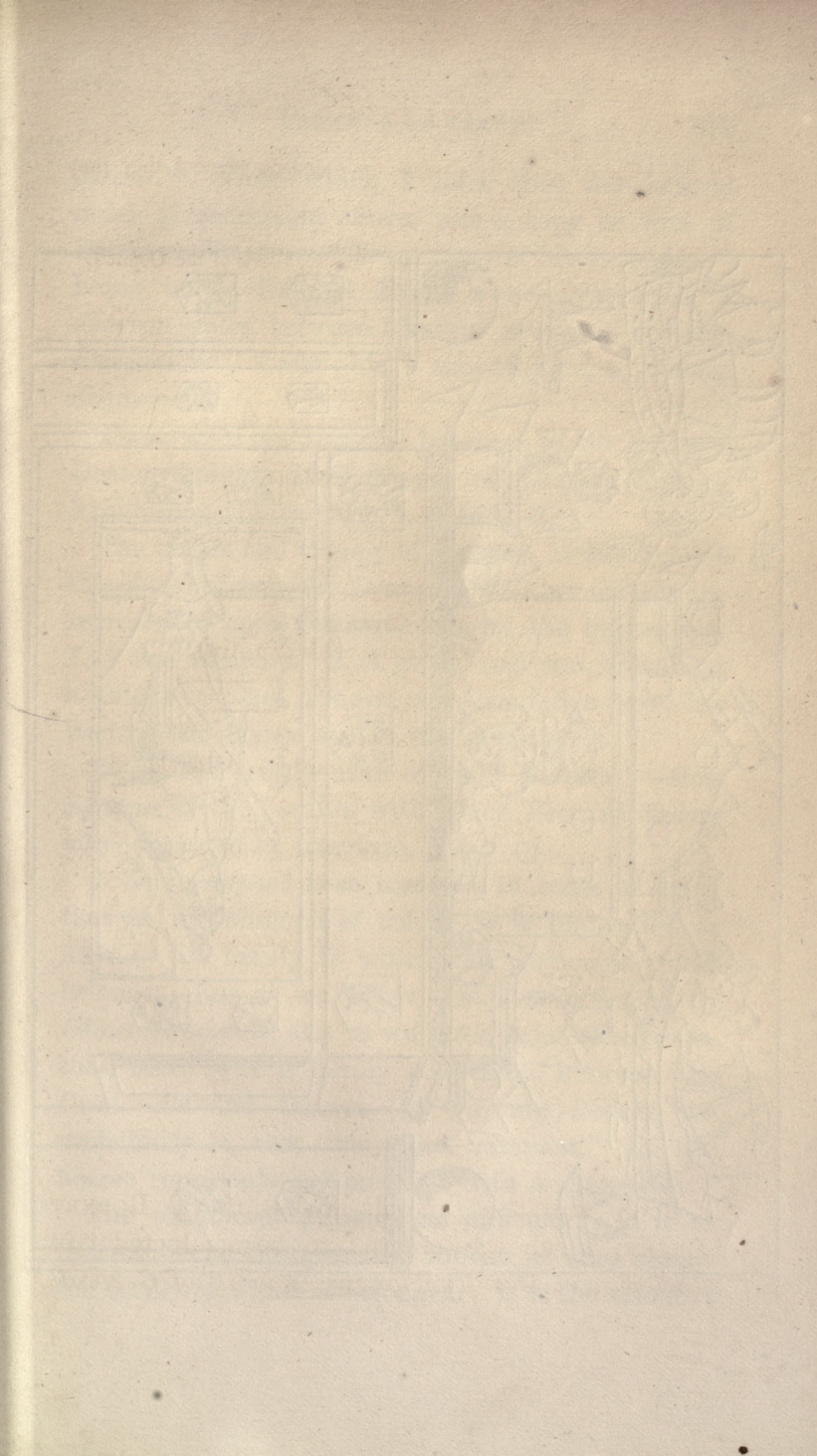
Gentlemen of Quality.

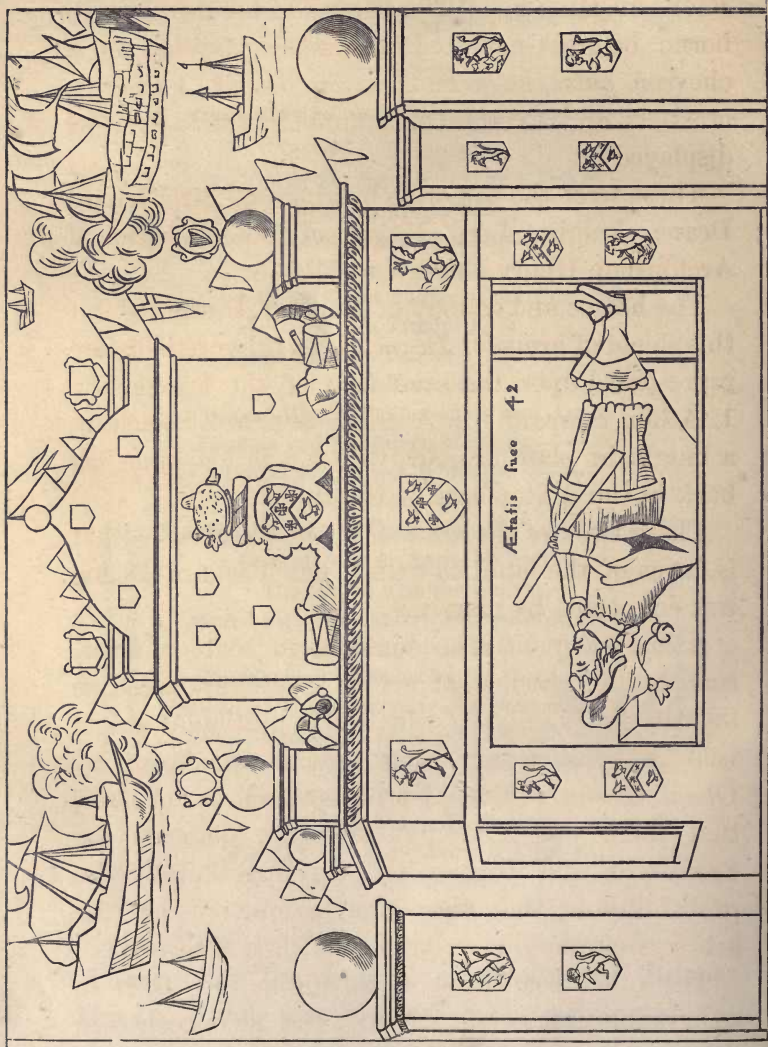
His Regiment.

The Supporters of the Pall
from Westminster Bridge
to the Abbey.

The Supporters of the Pall
from Westminster Bridge
to the Abbey.

Such was the funeral procession of ROBERT BLAKE, which was ordered to be conducted "*in such wise as was done for the Funerall of Generall*





Deane." From which I infer that the funeral order of procession above, was a copy of that of RICHARD DEANE. "The banner of his own arms" borne before General Deane was—*Argent*, on a chevron *gules*, between 3 ravens *proper*, 3 crosses-crosslets *or*. Crest—On a mound *vert*, a *tortoise* displayed *or*.

These were the armorial bearings of Sir Richard Deane, knight, Lord Mayor of London, and of Archbishop Henry Dene, A.D. 1501–3.

The hearse and canopy of General Deane exhibit this shield of arms for *Deane*. Two other shields are represented upon the same face of the hearse, viz. 1. A lion rampant. 2. A griffin segreant, attacking a knight in plate armour, who has fallen upon his back in the dexter base of the shield.

These two are the arms of "*the Matches*,"—that is, arms of the families with which Richard Deane was connected by marriage.

A *lion rampant* is so common in coats of arms, that in the absence of colour it is impossible to identify the family to which this particular shield belongs. But as we know that it was borne by *Oliver Cromwell*, and as we infer, from other *data*, that there was a family connexion between the Cromwells and Deanes (of Guyting Poher) the probability is, that the "lion rampant" on the hearse represents a "match" with a *Cromwell*.

The other coat presents no difficulty. It is so remarkable and *unique*, that we can at once assign the family to which it belonged. It is the shield of

Grimsdiche of Cheshire, from which a branch migrated into Hertfordshire, and it is *probably* the arms of Mary the wife of Richard Deane. I say "probably," for up to this time I have not been able to find out her maiden name. There is an indication that General Deane was interested in the promotion of a Lieutenant *Grimsditch* of the navy, who was made First Lieutenant to Vice-Admiral Penn when the latter was appointed, at the recommendation of General Deane, to the command of the *Fairfax* frigate, October 25, 1650. In the following January, Lieutenant *Grimsditch* was put by Admiral Penn in charge of a Portuguese prize of 36 guns, and, as soon as he returned home, he was promoted to the rank of Captain. This might indeed, have been but in the regular order of things—but it must be admitted that it would have been in the exact course of *patronage*! An Admiral of the Fleet recommends a Vice-Admiral to a lucrative command, and his grateful friend appoints the Admiral's relative to be his own First Lieutenant, and takes the earliest opportunity of giving him a further "lift." Suppose that Lieutenant *Grimsditch* was brother-in-law to General Deane, and the whole proceeding would be in the natural order of cause and effect. Could we discover that the maiden name of the General's wife had been *Grimsditch*, there would be no doubt of the relationship of this fortunate Lieutenant.

Among the Duke of Manchester's papers, published in 1866, is a letter of Sir Thomas Wrothe, to

the Puritan General, the Earl of Manchester, dated October, 1635, in which he makes mention of an orphan girl of the name of *Frances Grimsditch*, his wife's niece, whose connexions indicate a puritanical family. "Dame Margaret" (his deceased lady) "further told me that she had entrusted *her brother* Sir Nathaniel *Rich* and myself with the education of her niece *Frances Grimsditch* (a pretty toward young child then waiting upon her) desiring me to be very careful of her; and said she had given her £100 and some other things, if she took to good courses and to our liking."

Sir Thomas Wrothe (called by Edw. Walker "Prideaux's *Jack Pudding*") was of the party of the Parliament, as also were all the family of *Rich*. It is probable that through the same connexion—viz. the puritanical—Richard Deane may have been introduced to the family of Grimsditch, and that his wife *Mary* may have been the sister of the Frances Grimsditch above-mentioned? This conjecture, however loosely grounded, may afford a clue to the reason why the hearse of Richard Deane bore, among the arms of "matches"—those of *Grimsdiche*.

Two other shields must have appeared on the other side of the hearse, not represented in the engraving, which were, doubtless, those of *Wase* and *Wickham*—the names of Richard Deane's mother and grandmother. It is to be regretted that the printers of the two "Elegiack Memorials" of General Deane headed the broadsides with the

same engraving of the hearse. Had they given us the other side of it in the second "Elegiack Memorial" we should have had all the *four* "matches," viz. DEANE = *Grimsdiche* = *Cromwell* (?) on the obverse; and DEANE = *Wase* = *Wickham* on the reverse.

II. The funeral took place June 24, and from June 2, the day of the General's death, to that day, the Parliament allowed £100 a-day to his widow and children—both infants, and both girls, and subsequently made them a grant of land worth £600 a-year.*

The body of RICHARD DEANE remained seven years in King Henry's Chapel, when it was removed together with those of Blake, and other worthies of the Commonwealth, and interred in St. Margaret's Churchyard. They are all—twenty-one in number—said to have been buried "in one pit" dug at the back doors of two prebendal houses which then blocked up the north side of the Abbey between the north transept and the west end.†

The names of the persons to be disinterred were appended to the following warrant, addressed to the Dean and Chapter, on the restoration of Charles the Second:—

It is his Majesty's express pleasure and command that you cause the bodies of the several persons undernamed, which have been unwarrantable interred in Henry the 7th and other the Chapels and

* Letter of Vander Perre, the Dutch Envoy in London, in Thurloe Papers.

† Dean Stanley's History of Westminster Abbey. 2nd Ed. p. 239.

places within the Collegiate Church of Westminster since the year 1641, to be forthwith taken up and buried in some place of the churchyard adjoining to the said church, whereof you may not fail; and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

HENRY 7 CHAPPEL.

Dr. Isaac Dorislaus.	Mr. Humfrey Salwey.
<i>Coll. Richard Deane.</i>	Coll. Boscawen.
Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell.	Denis Bond.
Coll. Humphry Mackworth.	Mrs. Bradshaw.
Sir Wm. Constable.	Mr. Thos. Hardrick.
Mrs. Desborough.	<i>Coll. Edw. Popham.</i>
Anne Fleetwood.	Dr. Twiss.
<i>Coll. Robert Blake.</i>	Thomas May.
Coll. John Meldrum.	Valentine Strong.
Mr. John Pymme.	Steven Marshall.
Mr. Wm. Stroud.	

If these bodies were decently removed from the church to the churchyard, no blame can, justly, attach to the King for the removal; for he naturally desired to clear his own family vaults of those whom he might, undoubtedly, regard as intruders. But it is not quite so certain that the removal and re-interment were so decorously conducted as tradition says they were. The present Dean of Westminster, with the laudable desire of ascertaining not only the place, but also the manner of reburial, caused, in November 1869, the ground to be opened on the spot supposed to be the grave of the removed, but found no evidence of a decent and careful interment—such as fragments of coffins, and skeletons, lying side by side in the order of deposit, but only a confused mass of bones so mixed together as to suggest an irreverent emptying

of coffins into a large common pit. The Dean, and other members of the Chapter who accompanied him, went away, and still remain in the charitable hope, that they have failed in discovering the deposit which they sought, but have fallen in with some other not unusual spectacle, in crowded churchyards, where the callous sexton of one generation shovels away the coffinless bones of the preceding, to make room for the bodies of his own contemporaries, who may have occasion for his services. It is earnestly to be hoped that such was the case here; and, that the only indignity to which Richard Deane and Robert Blake were exposed, was the removal of their remains from the burial-place of kings, to that of ordinary christians, "with no other memorial of their names than that of their deathless renown." But be the case as it may—these facts are certain: they fought on the same deck, died in the same cause, and were buried in the same "pit." "They had been loving and pleasant in their lives, and in their graves they were not divided."

Popham, the comrade of Blake and Deane, was buried in the same vault, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, and was also removed from it, but whether from the superior interest of his family or his own comparative freedom from the guilt of the King's blood, or from a more judicious use by his friends of the moving power of gold, his body was given up to his relations and reinterred in the family burial-place. But even this grace was not unaccompanied

by a characteristic meanness—the tablet which had been placed on the wall to his memory was ordered to be taken away, or *reversed*, so that no inscription should be seen to the glory of one who had fought and died for his country.

We shall be told that much indulgence should be shown to the natural feelings of a son who could not look with complacency upon any memorial of those who had either brought or assisted in bringing his Royal Father to the block. Be it so; but we cannot grant the same indulgence to that despicable revenge which visited upon the dead bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw the wrongs which had been suffered from them when living. Their disinterred remains were taken in a cart to Tyburn, and there hung up on the common gallows, and buried at the gallows' foot, and their dissevered heads taken back to Westminster and set up over Westminster Hall,* in derision of their having there sat in judgment upon Charles the First. By this disgusting barbarity the living avengers of the King's blood were more disgraced in the eyes of a Christian people than the dead rebels whom they thought to stigmatise. "The living dog" was not, in this instance, "better than the dead lion."

The body of Colonel Pride is also said to have been taken up from its place of burial and hung, with those of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton, on the gallows at Tyburn. This barbarism must have been rather the work of the House of Commons, against whom,

* Where they were seen by Pepys.

in their own estimation, the deceased officers had sinned more grievously than against the King himself. He had lifted his sacrilegious hand against "THE HOUSE," and violently ejected its members! That "House" was, indeed, the rebellious Long Parliament; but, after all, it had been duly returned as the representatives of the people, and was one of the Estates of the Realm, and therefore, however rebellious, it was a "Holy Thing," and not to be meddled with by profane soldiers. Hence the resentment of the House of Commons of 1660 against the man who administered that "Purge," which did so much good in its own day, and which has been so often wanted since, for every public body elected by the great unwashed must be always more or less unclean; and irreverent persons are not wanting who "see a Mystery" in its very number, so nearly approximating to "the number of The Beast."*

III. The treatment of Richard Deane, "The Regicide," was comparatively respectful. He was only deemed unworthy of remaining in the royal vault; but it is to be observed, that he had only signed the Death-warrant of the King, and had not raised his hand against "The House." He had fought against the Throne, but he had fought with equal vigour against the enemies of his country, and had fallen in the conflict. He was buried with the same honours as Robert Blake—

* Rev. 13, 18. *And his number is six hundred and three score and six.*

“let him be reburied with the same contempt, and justice will be satisfied.” So reasoned the Parliament of Charles the Second; but nothing which that Parliament could do, or leave undone, can efface the memory of those glorious actions in which “The Regicide” bore so great a part, and on account of which his name is reckoned among the worthies of the Commonwealth.

At a period of remarkable energy he rose, by the force of his own genius and valour, from the obscure condition of a younger son of a country gentleman, of small means and large family, to the rank of a General and Admiral, uniformly successful on land or sea, and of an able administrator of the Civil Government of a distracted kingdom, which he pacified and left in peace and prosperity. In the field or in the council he was the trusted comrade of Oliver Cromwell, which is in itself no small testimonial to his talents, for they were not men of inferior minds whom that shrewd observer of human nature selected for important posts and duties.

Richard Deane, moreover, was, in an age of fanaticism, no fanatic; in an age of intolerance no persecutor. “*Religio erat, in sacris nec cogere nec cogi; hæc aurea libertas,*” was his creed and practice. Conscientious, according to his lights and those of the best men of his age and party, he discharged his public duties zealously and faithfully, *unto death*; and if by his instrumentality his country lost an amiable though misguided King,

by his courage and self-devotion she was saved from the insults of a foreign enemy, who, a few years after his death, when all public virtue was dead and buried in Westminster Abbey, inflicted upon England the greatest disgrace she has ever sustained since she became a nation. POPHAM, BLAKE, and DEANE, ignominiously ejected from their graves, were amply avenged by the national disgrace of a dissolute despot upon the throne, and *the Dutch in the Medway!*

Richard Deane signed the Death-warrant of Charles the First under a conviction that in no other way could the religion and liberties of the country be saved; and there are many among us, even at this day, who would confidently balance his only crime with his many virtues, and pronounce the scales even; for it is, indeed, difficult for an impartial politician and moralist (if such a being ever existed) to assign the limits of loyalty and patriotism in an age of religious convulsions.

In this age of a free Constitution, domestic tranquillity, and a Church established upon just and moderate principles, we can form no idea of the dread under which our ancestors of the seventeenth century laboured of the loss of their civil and religious liberties. Some of us may think that those liberties were never really invaded, that the danger was imaginary, and that reason was subjected to a false sentiment; but it would have been difficult to convince ordinary men of their personal safety when a sentence of the Star Chamber could cut

off the ears of an impudent lawyer or garrulous divine merely because the one followed his vocation and the other his instinct, or fine an ill-tempered gentleman *ten thousand pounds!* for speaking querulously of a hard-hearted nobleman who had intentionally wronged him; and hard indeed must have been the lot of an honest Member of Parliament who could not argue against the impolicy of an Act proposed by the King's ministers without the risk of being committed to the Tower for contempt of the King's Majesty! The present race of Englishmen cannot realise the feelings of their ancestors who lived in the days of undefined prerogative and recently emancipated liberty. They cannot understand the various motives which agitated the finest spirits of those times; the earnest patriotism of HAMPDEN, when the liberties of this country were in danger, or the chivalrous royalism of the patriot FALKLAND, when he thought that the throne and altar were about to be trampled under the hoof of an arrogant democracy.

Doubtless there were some who took up arms only to prosecute their own private interests, but by far the greater number were personally disinterested; they fought for a CAUSE. All were not tyrants who stood up for the King; all were not Regicides who fought against him; and we may even go further and say, that some even of those who sat in judgment upon him and condemned him to death for abusing his powers when absolute, would have willingly taken up arms at

his bidding to repel a foreign enemy from their shores, or to put down a domestic tyranny (such as that of the Barons in the reign of Henry the Third) within it. Of this kind of patriots I believe Richard Deane to have been one—

Carissimus omnibus, præsertim suis,

Qui omnes omnium caritates

Uni Reipublicæ

Postposuit.*

* Epitaph.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

I. RICHARD DEANE died seized of the manor and grange of Sydenham in the parish of Thame, Oxfordshire, and of West Court in the Honour of Ewelme. He had also some property at Hornchurch in Essex. The "Honour of Ewelme" was not the parish of that name in Oxfordshire, but a district in Buckinghamshire, comprising the manor of Prince's Risborough, which had formerly belonged to the Black Prince, and which was alienated by Charles the First to the Lord Mayor and Commonalty of the City of London in 1637, as we learn from the following record :*—

"King Charles the First alienated in 1637, by letters patent, to the Lord Mayor and Commonalty of the City of London the rents of the manor of Prince's Risborough, being £100 7s. 11½d. per ann. without profits of Court, being parcel of the Duchy of Cornwall, and annexed to the Honour of Ewelme, at £84 4s. 7½d.

"In 165¾, by indenture dated 10 January, *Ralph A'Deane*, of Gray's Inn, London, Gent., conveyed it for ten shillings to Frederick Stephens, of Clement's Inn, Gent, being then among the lands forfeited to the Parliament" (and conferred by them upon General Deane?)

"In 1672, by indenture dated March 23, Francis Lord Hawley, and others, conveyed to Peter Lely,† Esq., of Covent Garden, a fee farm rent of £84 4s. 7¼d., issued out of the manor of Prince's Risborough, *payable to the heir of Richard Deane.*" ‡

This last entry indicates that the widow and children of Admiral General Deane were not deprived of the property which he left to them by his will; as "*West Court in Ewelme,*" which is evidently the estate noticed above—an act of generosity for which we should hardly have given credit to the King, who turned the body of the father out of his grave.

* Lipscombe's Buckinghamshire, ii. 433.

† The famous painter, Sir Peter Lely.

‡ Rob. Car. II. c. 24.

But Charles the Second was, perhaps, not so much to blame for the barbarities perpetrated in his name, and might, if he had been left to himself, have been much more lenient to his father's enemies; but his greedy courtiers wanted money, and therefore confiscations abounded. The property of "Richard Deane, deceased," was at first included in the schedule of forfeitures. How any part of it subsequently escaped the rapacity of the King's councillors remains a mystery.

There is no such place as West Court in Ewelme, Oxon, nor any tradition of there ever having been any. The old manor house of Prince's Risborough, which might have been this "West Court," has been long since pulled down, but the moat still remains.

II. THE WILL OF RICHARD DEANE,

Extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury,
355 *Alchin*

22.

In the name of God, Amen.

I, Richard Deane, of London, Esquire, considering with myself the frailtie and incertaintie of my life, doe therefore make and ordeine this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following:— First, I bequeath my soule into the hands of Almighty God, and my body I com'itt to the earth, and as for my worldly estate I dispose thereof in manner following, that is to say, I give all my fee farme rent issueing out of the mannor and grange of Sidenham, in the county of Oxford, and all my fee farme rent issueing out of West Court and lands in Ewelme, in the said county of Oxford, and all my fee farme rents issueing out of all other lands whatsoever in the county of Oxford, and likewise all the lands and tenements and hereditaments in the p'sh of Hornechurch, or elsewhere, in the county of Essex, whereof I am seised, or any other person or persons are and doe stand seised in trust for me, unto my dearly beloved wife *Mary Deane*, for and during the terme of her natural life, charged and to be chargeable with the severale annuities hereafter following: Item I give and bequeath to Mrs. *Anne Deane*, my mother, for and during her natural life, one annuitie or yearly rent charge of twenty-five pounds the yeare, to be issueing and going forth out of all the lands, tenements, and hereditaments and premises in the p'sh of Hornechurch aforesaid, and elsewhere, in the county of Essex, to be paid half-yearly on the nyne and twentieth day of September, and

five and twentieth day of March, by equal portions, without deduction or abatement of any taxes, assessments, duties, or payments by reason of any order or orders, ordinance or ordinances, act or acts of parliament made or to be made, or otherwise soever, and that she distrain in the said lands for the same in default of payment thereof or any part thereof. Item I give and bequeath to my sister *Jane Sparrow*, for and during the life of my said mother, and for soe long as the said *Jane Sparrow* shall continue a widow, an annuities or yearly rent charge of twelve pounds, to be issuing and going forth out of all the lands and tenements and premises in th p'sh of Horne Church aforesaid, or elsewhere, in the county of Essex, to be paid half-yearly, at the daies and times aforesaid, by equal portions, and without such deductions or abatements aforesaid, and that she distrain for the same in the said lands in default of payment thereof or any part thereof. And from and after the decease of my said mother, then I give and bequeath unto my said sister *Jane Sparrow*, if she shall continue and remain a widow, for and during her widowhood an annuity or yearly rent charge of twenty pounds the year, to be issuing and going forth and out of all the lands, tenements, and premises in the p'sh of Horne Church aforesaid, or elsewhere, in the county of Essex, to be paid half-yearly, at the daies and times aforesaid, and that she may distrain, &c. Item I give and bequeath to my two daughters, *Mary Deane* and *Hannah Deane*, to each of them one thousand pounds a-piece for their portions, to be paid unto them severally and respectively at their several and respective daies of marriage, or ages of twenty years, which of them shall first happen, and in the meantime that the said portions shall be paid and remain in the hands of my said wife, if she shall soe long remain a widow and unmarried, and in case she should marry or die that then the said portions shall be paid to and remain with *William Robinson*, of London, Esqr., and my cosen *Captain Richard Deane*, the said portions to be from time to time employed by said trustees for the respective good and benefit of my said daughters, without damage or loss to my said trustees by reason of such employment, so as there is no wilful neglect in them. Item if my wife shall be with child of a son at the time of my death, then I give and bequeath the aforesaid fee farm rents in Oxfordshire, and the lands, tenements, and hereditaments and premises in the p'sh of Horne Church aforesaid, or elsewhere, in the county of Essex, after the decease of my wife, charged and chargeable with the several annui-

ties and yearly rents aforesaid, unto the said child, being a son, and his heirs for ever. And if the said child shall attain his age of one-and-twentie years in the life of his mother, then I give and bequeath to the said child one annuity or yearly rent charge of one hundred pounds the year for and during the life of my said wife, for his support and maintenance out of the lands, &c., in Horne Church. Item if my wife shall be with child of a daughter at the time of my decease, then I give and bequeath unto her the said child, being a daughter, the several fee farme rents issuing out of the aforesaid lands in the county of Oxfordshire, to have and to hold the said fee farme rents, after the decease of my said wife, unto the said child, being a daughter, and her and her heirs for ever. Nevertheless, my will and meaning is that if my s^d wife shall happen to die before the said child, being a daughter, shall attain her age of twenty years, or be married, that then the said *William Robinson* and Captain *Richard Deane*, their executors or administrators, shall have and receive the said fee farme rents in the county of Oxfordshire, for the use and benefit of the said child, until she shall attain the age of twenty years or be married, whichever of them shall first happen. And as touching and concerning the lands, ten^{ts}, and heredit^{ts} and prm^{ises} in the p^{sh} of Horne Church aforesaid, or elsewhere, in the county of Essex, I give and bequeath the same (if my wife shall not at the time of my decease be with child) charged and chargeable with the several yearly rent charges aforesaid, unto my said daughters *Mary Deane* and *Hannah Deane*, and their heirs, to be equally divided between them And I desire that if I shall happen to die in Parliament service, and that they shall be pleased to confer anything upon my wife and children for their better support and maintenance, that then they would make a distribution thereof according to the distribution of my estate, hereinbefore by me made, having a regard to my dear mother and sister *Sparrow*, unless the Parliament shall be pleased to settle the proportions themselves. And I make and ordain my dearly beloved wife *Mary Deane* my sole and only executrix of this my last will and testament.

Signed 31st March, 1653.

RICHARD DEANE.

Witnesses—

John Sparrow.
John Robinson.
John Bigges.

APPENDIX B.

Frequent reference has been made in the preceding pages to two poetical broadsides, printed and published on the occasion of the funeral of General Deane. They are curious specimens of the false taste of the times, which delighted in such effusions to the praise of distinguished men, and especially of those who had fallen in the service of their country. As poetical compositions these particular productions are, for the most part, below mediocrity, being full of the vicious verbiage of the age which immediately preceded the noble grandiloquence of Milton. But there are, notwithstanding, some passages in them of such truth and feeling, that they go far to redeem the commonplace of the remainder.

In one respect they are both valuable. They allude to minor points of contemporaneous history which more pretentious writers are in the habit of passing over as insignificant, but which are archæologically important to those minute inquirers who are never so well pleased as when they think that they have found a clue to some of the hidden springs of action in public men. There are some such points in these "Elegiack Memorials," which I shall *italicize* whenever they seem to bear on the origin, motives, or character of the subject of this memoir, or upon his connection with passing or proposed events.

The author of the first and better of these elegies calls himself *Th. Tw. Δεαρόφιλος*,—a somewhat pedantic signature, which I should be glad to assign to *Thomas Twysden*, were there any reliable grounds for the identification. For I do not deem it a sufficient objection that one of the best lawyers of his time should be thought capable of writing—and still worse, of publishing—such doggrel. For what lawyer is incapable of doggrel? The better the lawyer, the worse, probably, will be his poetry. Thomas Twysden was, for his forensic learning, "specially" called to the bar by Cromwell in 1653, and promoted to the Chief Justiceship of the Common Pleas by Charles the Second. At the time of General Deane's death he was a young man, just emerging from among the students of the Inns of Court, and at an age to be electrically affected by the flash of glory which the victory of the North Foreland had sent through the country.

If *Thomas Twysden* was the author, it is not improbable that this eulogium on Cromwell's friend may have recommended him to the

notice of the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, so soon to become its PROTECTOR, and who owed so much of his elevation to the fidelity and services of the deceased General-at-Sea. If Thomas Twysden did not write the "Elegiack Memorial," the only other conspicuous *Th. Tw.* of the time, who may be sufficiently familiar with the Greek alphabet as to invent the compound word $\Delta\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{o}\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, was Doctor *Thomas Twist* ("Oh, Phœbus! what a name!")—the Prolocutor of the Presbyterian Synod, who might be thought capable of admiring the Republican hero—"the godly and valiant gentleman" of the glorious second of June. Dr. *Thomas Twist*, moreover, was, doubtless, capable of writing much worse verses; but here our identification must stop, for we can hardly imagine that the Prolocutor of the Synod of Presbyterian divines would have signed himself the "friend" of an INDEPENDENT, and one of the "grandees" of that Army which ejected the Presbyterian Parliament.

A third *Th. Tw.* has been suggested to me by the editor of the "Notes and Queries," against whose name the Byronic invocator of Phœbus may protest as energetically as against "*Amos Cottle*" or "*Thomas Twist*." This was another learned but more obscure doctor—*Thomas Twittie*, of Oriel College, Oxford, vicar of Kingston-upon-Thames, who was flourishing at the time, and addicted to the composition of "Elegiack Memorials." But as I have no certain knowledge of the religious opinions of Dr. *Thomas Twittie*, whose preferment is a *primâ facie* argument of antagonism to Independency, I can hardly venture to decide the authorship in his favour, and shall be thankful to any one who can settle the question.

The writer of the second elegy was a man of less mark—a $\Delta\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{o}\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ in English—who humbly signs himself "*J. R. Merchant*." Could he have been the *John Robinson*, one of the three witnesses of Richard Deane's Will—a brother of the William Robinson appointed one of the trustees for the children? The Robinson family acted a conspicuous part in the Great Rebellion—especially Luke, who was an active member of the House of Commons, and a constant Committeeman. It is not unlikely, then, that the *J. R.* of the elegy was the *John Robinson* of the Will.

There was, however, another *J. R.* at this time—an habitual poetaster, and a City merchant—*Josiah Rycraft*, who wrote in vain rivalry of Marchmont Needham, and always in praise of Parliamentarians. He was, probably, related to Thomas Rycraft the

printer of the elegy to which his initials are appended. I am inclined to think that in this instance we have found the author of the second elegy in the brother of the printer.

Each broadside is surmounted by a rude woodcut of the General's hearse, which is especially valuable as identifying the *Richard Deane* "atatis suæ 42" of 1653, with the *Richard Deane* of Guyting Poher, who was baptized in the parish church *July 8, 1610*—the name and age exactly corresponding and corroborating the arguments for the identification, derived from other sources.

The effigy of the deceased General was a full-length figure in wax, a portrait extended over the coffin which contained his remains, and dressed in the same clothes and buff coat which he had on when he fell upon the deck of the *Resolution*. In his miniature by Cooper, General Deane is represented with a breastplate; here he has none, either because armour was not needed for the service on board ship, or because he disdained to wear it on the occasion.

The whole picture is a rough representation of the real hearse which conveyed the body of the General from Gravesend to Westminster Abbey, and which, making every allowance for the bad taste of the age, was, probably, after all, a less unsightly and absurd object than the *frigate on wheels* which bore the illustrious NELSON to St. Paul's.

AN ELEGIACK MEMORIAL

OF

THE RIGHT HONORABLE *GENERAL DEANE*.

Be dumb ye Muses! who speaks rightly Him
Needs the high accents of the seraphim,
A seraph's quill, and so, perhaps, his verse
May not prophane, though it approach, his hearse.
The ancient and the modern heroes seem,
Compared to ours, a poore, low, barren theme.
Poets and flatterers raised them to the skies,
And, who were scarce good men, made deities;
Like China dishes hid an age in mold,
By great-grandchildren gods and saints enroll'd,
They from men's fancies after death did grow,
This was a saint on earth, a star below.

The Ethnick Roman calendars are crost,
 What they pretend t' have found, we're sure we've lost.
 Their actions, after death, they greater grew
 By lying legends—His, in the world's view
 Stand high above the paraphrase of men,
 And need no flattering, fear no envious pen.
 Hence then detractors ! for, if understood,
 The *ill* of him was better than your *good*.
 An humble soul hid in a stern aspect,
 A perfect friendship in supposed neglect,
 A learned head without the boast of books,
 A devout heart without affected looks,
 His great perfection did in practice lie—
 Religion lock'd up in sinceritie.

*The present age had never known his worth,
 Had not High Providence produced him forth
 To stop the floods to greatness, and chastise
 The insolence of swelling monarchies
 And by his acts the purblind world convince,
 Who charm nobilitie unto the Prince.
 A princely soul he had though country-born,
 That greatness could chastise, teach, use, and scorn ;
 He in himself drew the epitome
 Of a compleat well-governed monarchie,
 Whose reason ruling did the sceptre sway
 To which the rest did willingly obey.
 If his affections 'gan rebellious grow
 Religion quickly forced them to bow ;
 Whilst in his dealings, following justice' laws,
 By exercise her noble habit draws,
 Till at the length her champion he is made,
 And her defence converts into his trade.
 Then long *ten years* he posteth to and fro
 To help th' oppressed and suppress the foe,
 For whom *Three Generals** had a high respect
 For counsel wise and valour to effect.
 Till England clear'd he curbs the British broils,
 Then into Ireland (*Herculean toils* !)*

* Essex, Fairfax, Cromwell.

*The Irishman, or rather Roman frogs,
 He makes for safety, leap into their bogs.*
 But he must leave them there, a greater cause
 Commands his presence, maugre Neptune's laws.
 The swelling seas and crossing tides can't part
 Brave DEANE from him, *for whom he kept his heart ;*
 Let others chase the pirates, he on shore
 Must serve his Generall till wars give o'er.
 Who, having quite subdued the numerous Scots,
 Their Government unto his DEANE allots ;
 Where he achieves another victory
 Over their hearts by honest gallantry,
 While wise men judged it a propitious doom
 Unto their land thus to be overcome.
 For now his greatest business seems to be
 To keep their factious selves in amity.
*He, at their instance, climbs the rugged hills,
 And darksome groves that Caledonia fills,
 Whilst the fell Natives* stand aloof and gaze
 From craggy rocks in a profound amaze
 To see the horsemen march in places where
 They never saw ought but the wildest deer,
 And in affright their chiefs come falling down,
 And vow they'll ne'er more plunder field or town.*
 His march was a quick journey, his retreat
 A pleasant walk, with little blood or sweat.
 And now may he in pleasure rest awhile
 With his dear consort, and his time beguile
*In Dalkeith turrets or her shady groves,
 While to her lute she sweetly sings their loves.*
 But this soft music threatening cannons mar,
 Which send quick tidings of approaching war ;
 And is a duty or a danger near
 On land or sea, and noble DEANE not there ?
 Away he shoots ! and like a star that brings
 The tidings of the fall of States or Kings,
 A star in motion, brightness, influence,
 He doth not lead the Dutch, but drives them hence—

* Highlanders.

Twice beats them—first from ours, then to their walls,
 Which done, afar our star to heaven falls !
 And it was time ! so said great Providence.
 'Twas time to call the heavenly spark from hence ;
 His growing lustre might have dimmed us all—
 His value did precipitate his fall.
 For had he held his course some few more years,
 The world, with me, had been idolaters.

Sic fatur lachrymans

Δεανόφιλος,

Th. Tw.

London : Printed by M. S. for Thomas Jenner,
 at the south entrance of the Royall Exchange. 1653.

AN ELEGIE UPON THE DEATH OF THE THRICE NOBLE
 GENERALL RICHARD DEANE.

Mourn drooping eyes, with pearly trickling tears !
 Flow streams of sadness to the hemispheres !
 Flow like the trembling waves of th' river Nile,
 Make the world hear thy plaint ; let not a smile
 Appear, let not an eye be seen to sleep
 Nor slumber, only let them serve to weep
 For noble DEANE, who lives above the pole,
 Where angels sing sweet requiems to his soul.
 And now, if angry stormes and waves be rough,
 Thy haven and thy harbour's safe enough.
 Sleep, sleep awhile, until the flowing tide
 Of blest Elysium's streams that sweetly glide
 Shall palliate thy *wounded side* ! Oh fate, to see
 The last sad stroke of thy sad destiny !
 When winds shall serve thee, then hoist up top-sail
 And bravely ride before a prosperous gale !
 That all the coasters may to thee resort
 And bid thee welcome to thy destined port.
 Thee to attend from shore to shore, to be
 Interr'd, deserving thy magnanimity.
 Oh could we to thy name erect a stone
 Should equal the philosopher's, each groan

Should breath thy praise, brave DEANE, and every verse
 Draw doleful sighs over thy fatal herse.
 No fitter subject these strong lines should meet
 Than such a noble center: could the feet
 Of able men but trace thy victories
 They need not fear to flie into the skies
 To meet great DEANE, who taught them so to dye,
 Death yielding him the day and victory.
 Therefore, farewell! and let this story say,
He lived and died the glory of that day.

And now thou sleepest, blest soul, freed from all cares,
 Whilst we do read thy elegy with tears,
 And stand amazed to see thou didst not cease,
By land and sea, to purchase to us peace.
 Wherein thy boldness still did interpose
 Betwixt us and the raging of our foes,
 In England, Scotland, and likewise at sea,
 When thou didst *Hogens Mogens Harsmen* pay
 Home to the full for their ungratefulness
 In fighting us who helped them in distress.
 'Tis not unknown they gave this epithet
 Of "*Poor distressed States*;" and now forget
 Those favours erst received, which must them stile
 Unworthy actors 'gainst our English isle.

But whither run I? See, observe the spheres!
 How they bewail our valiant DEANE in tears!
 But he is dead! from which it is observ'd
 Honour and valour from death are not preserv'd.
 Nor is it sure the greatest Princes' lives
 Can saved be by their prerogatives.
 Then need I not the world thus to acquaint,
 He died a souldier, martyr, and a saint.

But Mars of late hath struck the cedar tall,
 And Neptune mourns for our great heroes fall,
 At which his billows drive from shore to shore
 To tell proud Mars this loss *will cost him more*
Of his Amboyna sons, which now do quake
 When they do hear of the victorious Blake.

We'll now return to mind DEANE's fatal fall,
 And sound sad summons to his funerall,
 Caused by a bloody hand that could not get
 The gem, therefore would spoil the carkanet.
*So fair without, so free from spot within,
 That earth seem'd here to be exempt from sin.*
 When we thy virtues see, we strait become
 So many statues weeping on thy tomb.
 But is it so, that Virtue draws faint breath
 And subject to the dire effects of death ?
 Then rest thee where thou art, I'll seek no glory
 By the relation of so sad a story ;
 But tell the world that thou hast paid the debt
 That's due to Sin, and *ne'er a libel yet*
Bespattering thy chaste name, whose sacrifice
Hath stopped the mouth of thy great enemies.

They stand amazed to read and hear of thee
 Whose name is shrined in this elegie,
 Who might'st have lived, *had not the life that gave*
Life to thy life sent thee now to thy grave.
 Therefore 'tis sad to write thy pedigree,
 Death discomposing all, displacing thee
Whose greatness did consist in being good,
Thy goodness adding titles to thy blood.
 Only unhappy in thy life's last doom
 Who lived too early for to die so soon.
 Alas ! whereto shall men oppressed trust
When piety cannot protect the just ?

Yet to add some mementoes to thy life,
 Thou hast behind thee left a loving wife,
 Who hath, since that sad time thou didst depart
 Oerflowed her cheeks with tears from a sad heart,
 And like a chaste and virtuous widow she
 Hath set apart herself to mourn for thee ;
 For thee most noble DEANE she doth lament
 And saddest sighs for thee to Heaven has sent.
 Her sorrows are augmented on the score,
 Weeping because that she can weep no more

For him, *whose death doth unto mourning call**
 CROMWELL the great and noble generall,
 The glory of his age, whose valiant hand
 Hath wrought deliverance for this sinful land.
 I say great, valiant, noble, excelling far
 Cæsar, Pompey, or great Alexander!
 Whose splendid virtues radiantly display
 Themselves to all, far clearer than the day;
 Thy humble self-denying doth express
 Thee far above the height of any verse
 That can be writ of thee in love or fear.
 Go on, therefore, blest soul! and persevere
 T'expell from place of profit and of trust
 Such vermin † who with coin their bags do thrust.

The next in order to DEANE's obsequies,
 We do invite to breathe sad eligies,
 Whose lives do far surpass the height of mine,
 Whom I must fitly style "*The Worthies Nine.*"
 And first the valiant *Fleetwood* I do take,
 With noble *Lambert* and victorious *Blake*;
 And prudent *Harrison* I'll not omit,
 Nor the most pious *Desborough*, nor yet
 The sixth renowned worthy, *Whalley*, and
 The brave heroic *Rich* may justly stand
 With gallant *Monk*, who may be rank'd with you,
 Heroick *Lilburne* may well be added too,
 With many more whose worth I'll not now name,
 But wish them pattern take by DEANE's great fame,
 Who had he lived the curled waves t'have tear'd
Rome had ere long their noble hero heard
At her proud gates, them to account to call
 For the saints' blood they shed, and martyrs all,
 That they did drink full deep in that sad cup
 Of which brave *Blake* will give them for to sup,
 When DEANE, the truly noble and the brave,
 Heroick soul, shall be laid in his grave.
 Where he may rest, and be interr'd hard by
 The worthy *Ireton*, and old *Essex*, lye

* Qu. a relation ?

† The House of Commons ejected by Cromwell.

Near unto *Popham*, and make room
 For pious SPARROW in their *five-fold tomb*.^{*}
 And thence let your own echoes multiply
 Blest hymns, and muses write continually,
 Whilst you do rest in your sad obsequies,
 With greater glory set than others rise.

R. remorseless death, what hast thou done? excell'd
 I. in conquering him who valiantly had erst
 C. curbed the proud curled waves, and often quell'd
 H. high *Hogens* insolence, their ships disperst.
 A. all the brave acts thou didst on sea and shore
 R. report thee famous, and declare thee more
 D. direly lamented with tears running o'er.

D. Deane's dead! why do I say dead? He lives
 E. eternally, and hath received that crown
 A. attended his great conquests, and receives
 N. new joys in Heaven repleted with renown.

By J. R. MERCHANT.

London. Printed by Thos. Rycraft, and are to be sold by Thomas Jenner
 at the Royall Exchange.

APPENDIX C.

The Latin epitaph is in better style than the "Elegiack Memorials," and may bear comparison with any of its kind and date. I found it in its original draft at the British Museum, *Additional MSS.* 4022, among the papers of *Henry Power*, a young Cambridge man, of multifarious acquirements, and subsequently a doctor of medicine and author of a book on "*Experimental Philosophy*," printed and published by *J. Rycraft* in 1664. Henry Power † was twenty-nine years of age at the time of General Deane's death, and seems

* Qu. in the same Royal Vault.

† His pedigree is in Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodensis*.

to have written the epitaph as an exercise in composition, for there are several corrections and erasures in it; and it occurs among other compositions, in the same handwriting, viz, two epithalamia, one in Greek and the other in Latin hexameters on the marriage of the Princess Royal with the Prince of Orange, besides mathematical, chemical, and astrological disquisitions, and a curious paper entitled "*A Demonstration of the Motion of the Earth from the Spots on the Sun.*" Henry Power lived in Yorkshire, but his paternal uncle was Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge—which may account for the theological library of the Doctor of Medicine, and his friendship with leading churchmen of the day.* I cannot find that there was any family connection between him and his hero; but it is a curious fact that there is a tradition at Leeds of a portrait of Admiral Deane in that vicinity, upon which an (erroneous) assumption has been based that his father was a Leeds clothier. Dr. Power may have possessed such a portrait, and it may have been handed down to his descendants in Yorkshire, but Richard Deane was certainly a Gloucestershire man, as Henry Power himself has shown in the epitaph, one of whose chief merits is, that it has settled the question of the "Regicide's" birth and parentage. The juxtaposition of the name of *J. Rycraft* is observable. Was he not the "J. R." of the elegy? and might he not have communicated the particulars of Richard Deane's origin to the author of the epitaph? or *vice versâ*?

Siste Viator,

Suspice RICHARDI DEANE quod reliquum est.

Ingens humanæ virtutis; simul ac fragilitatis

Spectaculum.

Oritur ubi Isis in agro Glocestriensi, Cotswolli montibus,

Moritur ubi Thamesis in Freto Britannico;

Quo in fonte natus, eodem in fluvio

Denatus est.

Bellicorum tormentorum olim Præfectus annos duos,

Et mox totius Scotiæ Proconsul,

Et tandem Thalassi-Archo-Triunvir;

Tribus his provinciis

Tam prudenter, tam fideliter, tam fortiter ornatis

Ut

* This is shewn by his *memoranda* of books, &c. among his other MSS.

Rarâ civilium Bellorum felicitate,
 Tribus successoribus magnis,
 Ducibus ubique magnis et maximis,
 Maximus haberetur.
 Cæsarianos limites in Scotiâ milite Anglo transivit
 Romano impervios ;
 Non inhospitali solo, nec asperiore sidere fractus,
 Ultimam emensus est Thulem
 Victoriis.
 Dum ad Bellum Navale evocatus,
 Quo maris Britannici
 Communitatem Belgæ, proprietatem Angli
 Vindicârant.
 Acerrimis duabus Naumachiis,
 Non Leucticæ Augusti, non Austriacæ Naupacti
 Imparibus,
 Primæ Victor, superstes erat, novissimæ succubuit,
 Sed Victor :
 Ut post hoc immortale factum
 Nihil mortale faceret.
 Relligio erat in sacris nec cogere nec cogi,
 Hæc aurea Libertas.
 Tacuissem de moribus, nisi quod
 Severitatem militaris disciplinæ humanitate domesticâ
 Comminuit.
 Carissimus omnibus, præsertim suis ;
 Sed omnes omnium caritates
 Uni Reipublicæ
 Postposuit.*
 Hoc piæ magis memoriæ,
 Quod Patriæ victimâ victricis morte carituræ,
 Vita ejus desideraretur.

* *Omnes omnium caritates Patria una complexa est.* Cicero de Officiis, i. 17.

APPENDIX D.

Robert Blake, Richard Deane, and George Monk, Admirals and Generals appointed by Parliament to command the Fleet in this Expedition.

I. INSTRUCTIONS

To be put in execution by the respective Captains of and belonging to the Shippes and Frigotts of the Commonwealth of England.

1. You are, in the first place, upon all occasions, as you shall be able, to maintain the Commonwealth's interest and sovereignty in their seas against all that shall oppose it.

2. You are to seize and take, and, in case of resistance, to sink and otherwise destroy, all shippes and vessels belonging or appertaining to the United Provinces of the Low Countries, and also all shippes and vessels belonging to the French King, or any of his subjects.

3. You are to protect all shippes and vessels trading or passing under the Parliament's obedience, in the way of merchandizing, or carrying provisions to any of the ports belonging to the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, or Ireland, being in amity with the nation, and fairly and respectively to treat all shippes and vessels passing those seas which belong to other Princes and States in friendship, or not in enmity with this Commonwealth.

4. You are, when apart from us, to advertise the Commissioners of the Admiralty and ourselves of your proceedings and present employment, that we and you may be the better enabled to improve the knowledge thereof to the public service.

5. You are to have special care that all the officers and private seamen under your command do behave themselves justly, civilly, and orderly, and in case of miscarriage in any of them you are to see them severely punished according to the Lawes Martiall.

6. You are to cause the late Articles of War that passed in Parliament to be set in some publick place in the shipp under your command, whereby all the officers and common seamen belonging to the said shipp may have free access unto them, to the end they may not have just cause of pleading ignorance, in case of offending against any of them.

7. You are also from time to time to publish and proclaim, or

cause to be published and proclaimed, all Orders and Commands that shall be sent on board by us as our order, and to see the same put in execution accordingly. Also what Orders shall be fixt up at the Admiral's mainmast.

Given under our hands and seals y^e 29 March.

RICHARD DEANE.

GEORGE MONK.

To Captain Joseph Jordaine,
Comm^r the *Vanguard*.

NOTE.—The above instructions, and those which follow, are taken from Sloane MSS. 3232, entitled "*Sir W. Penn's Tracts on the Navy.*" The same volume contains a curious Treatise, "*A Discourse of the Navy of England: writt by an able hand in ye year 1638,*" which is well worthy of the attention of the Naval Student.

II. SAILING ORDERS.

1. Instructions for the better ordering of the Fleet in sailing:—

As soon as the General shall loose his foretop sail and fire a gun, being at an anchor, every shipp of the Fleet is to be made ready and weigh, and being come to saile, to follow the chief of the squadron; and when they come to anchor again, to observe order, by anchoring in his squadron.

2. For the better knowing of his squadron, and keeping company in the night, notice is to be taken that the General has three lights on his poop and one in the maintop; that the Vice-Admiral, or he that commands in chief in the second place, hath two on his poop; the Rear-Admiral one. And when the whole Fleet carry their lights, the Rear-Admiral hath to carry two lights, right one against another on the poop, the one hoysted a yard above the other, on the ensign staff. And in case of foul weather and a dark night each ship is to carry a light.

If we shall weigh anchor in the night, we shall fire one gun, and hang a light in the maintopmast shrouds, above the constant light on the maintop, which is to be answered by the chief of every squadron, and respective ships of the Fleet to answer by a light on the mizen tops, which they are to take in when we take in ours from the maintop shrouds, and not before.

3. That no one presume to go to windward of the chief of his squadron in sailing at any time, unless in chase or fight, but give due respect to come and speak with him, so often as he conveniently can; and if the chief of the squadron come by the lee, and make a

west with his jack, that then every ship of his squadron bear under his stern and speak with him.

4. That in tacking or sailing every one keep good order, and not strive for the wind, or place, one of another, whereby prejudice or danger may come to any of the ships of the Fleet; but that every captain, lieutenant, master, master's mate, and pilot of a ship of less rank, give place to one of a greater; and if they be of one rank, then the younger give place to the elder, provided that no captain, lieutenant, master, master's mate, or pilot is to stand, or take place or wind of another ship, so as danger may come to either ship, upon pain of cashiering and loss of ship both in the better ship and older captain, as well as in the lesser and younger. But in case any commander, either of a lesser ship or younger captain, shall offer to go to windward of his senior and better ship, when it cometh to that necessity that one must give way or place unto the other, that then the elder captain or commander of a better ship complaineth, the captain, lieutenant, master, master's mate, or pilot so offending, shall, for every such offence, forfeit for the first, three months pay to the Advocate of the Fleet, to be disposed of to the relief of the wounded, widows, and orphans of the slain; and for every such second offence shall forfeit four months, and for every such third offence to be cashiered of his or their whole wages.

5. As soon as the General puts a flag on the mizen shrouds and fires a gun, then all Captains of the Fleet are to repair on board of the General. And if any ensign be put abroad in the same place, then all the masters of ships are to repair aboard as aforesaid; if the standards in the same place, then flag officers only are to repair on board the General. If a red flag, then the Captains of the General's squadron only; if a white flag, the Vice-Admiral and all the Captains of his squadron; if a blue flag, the Rear-Admiral and all the Captains of his squadron; if a standard on the ensign staff, then Admirals and Vice-Admirals of the Fleet only; if a white flag on the ensign, then all the Captains of frigates which carry 30 pieces of ordnance and upwards; if a blue flag on the ensign, then all the Captains of frigates and good sailors under 30 pieces of ordnance; if a red flag on the ensign staff, then all the Captains of frigates both small and great; if the jack colours on the ensign staff, then the Captains of all ships which are not frigates; and none ought to fail, upon forfeiture of one day's pay, presently to be paid; but if he be not in a capacity, then to send his Lieutenant, or next officer, to give an accompt thereof.

6. If it should chance to overblow that you are separated from the Fleet,

7. That upon firing a gun and lowering the main topsail of the General or chief of the squadron, every ship in chase gives over their chase; and when the General doth it, the chief of the squadron that is next him or them, ought to do the like; whereby the sign may be the more apparently known.

8. If any one chance to see a ship or ships in the day-time, more than our Fleet, you are to put abroad your ensign, and there keep it till ours is out, and then to strike it as many times as you see ships, and stand with them that we may know which way they are, and how many. But if in case you be at such a distance as the ensign cannot well be discerned, then you are to lay your head towards the ship or fleet you shall descry, and hale up your low sails; and hoisting and lowering your topsails, and making a weft with the top gallant sails (if you have any), until the General answers by lowering his, and making a weft with his top gallant sails. If by night, the sign is to be by firing off of guns, making of false fires, and you are to put a light on the maintop and three on the poop, steering after them, and shooting guns, unless that you perceive that we keep out our lights, and steer away another course, and fire a gun, two or three, to call you off, in which case you are to leave the ship or fleet and to follow us.

9. In case of springing a leak by day, under sail, or any disaster whereby a ship is disabled of keeping company, then such a ship as shall have such a disaster, is to make a sign thereof by firing two guns distinctly, one after the other, and haleing up his lower sails; and if in the night, by hanging two lights on the shrouds of equal height, where they may be the best seen, and firing of guns.

10. If in sailing that it overblow, and we chance to shorten sail in the night, then we shall put out one light over the other on the poop, and you are to answer with another light besides that you formerly carried, it being understood that in foul weather and dark nights each ship is to carry light in the night.

11. If we shall alter our course in the night we shall fire one gun without alteration of lights, which is to be answered by the chief of each squadron.

12. If in the night we shall not see the Fleet, and would know where each ship is, we shall put two lights of equal height, besides what we had before, and each ship to answer it to the like, and to endeavour to get as near as they can to the chief of the squadron.

13. If we chance to sail in the night we shall fire two pieces of ordnance and put out two lights more than we had before, of equal height, one over the other on the poop, and each ship to answer with one light more than they had before, which she is to keep out till we have taken in our two.

14. If we chance to anchor in the night we shall fire two pieces of ordnance a small distance from one another, our V.-Admiral and R.-Admiral of the Fleet each to answer with one; and the Vice-Admiral and the R.-Admiral are to shoot to their Vice-Admirals and Rear-Admirals, each to answer each other, whereby the Fleet may have orderly and timely notice better to dispose of themselves near their respective flags, and the chief ship of every squadron may have time to birth themselves, and that the whole Fleet may receive no prejudice of one another; and each ship to answer with two lights.

15. If in case of separation we meet with one another in the night, that we may the better know one another, he that hails shall ask "*What ship is that?*" He that is hailed shall answer "*Commonwealth.*" And the ship that haileth shall answer "*Flourish.*"

16. If it prove thick and foggy weather, and we have sea room, one of us shall haul in our sails, and shoot every hour a piece of ordnance, which the flag officers of our own squadron are first to answer; secondly, the Vice-admiral with his flag officers; thirdly, the Rear-Admiral with his flag officers; and all the Fleet are to answer by firing of muskets, beating of drums, or sound of trumpets.

If we chance to anchor in the night, or in a fog, we shall shoot off *two* pieces of ordnance. The Vice-Admiral and Rear-Admiral of our squadron are each to answer with one presently after. Then the Vice-Admiral of the Fleet to his Vice-Admiral and Rear-Admiral *one*; then the Rear-Admiral of the Fleet to his Vice-Admiral and Rear-Admiral *one*; whereby the ships of each particular squadron may have timely notice, to the end they may anchor near their respective flags under which they are. If we shall make sail in a fog, we shall fire off *three*, one after the other, and one every glass; all which is to be answered by the chief of every squadron, and the rest to shoot muskets and beat drums as before.

17. If any chance to lose company and to meet again, the smallest number shall hale up their mainsails, and the greater shall answer by laying their foresails up the backstays, and brailing up their mizen.

18. If by reason of foul weather it be thought meet to *hand* (?)

your sails and to lye a try, then we shall show *four* lights of equal height, and the rest to answer with the like. If we shall think fit to lye short at any time, or a hull, in regard of foul weather, then we shall show *three* lights, one over the other, in the main shrouds, or where they may most conveniently be seen, and it is to be noted that if any one of the Fleet have occasion to try or hull, when the rest of the Fleet bears away, he is to shoot off one gun, and show the same number of lights after the manner herein expressed. When we shall see cause to make sail in the night after blowing weather we shall shoot off *two* pieces of ordnance, which is to be answered by the Vice-Admiral and Rear-Admiral of our squadron with *one* piece. The Vice-Admiral and Rear-Admiral of the Fleet are to shoot off each *two* guns, and *their* Vice-Admirals and Rear-Admirals each *one*. And we shall put out three lights, one over the other, in the main shrouds, as was the sign when we shorten sail, which, upon answering from every ship, we shall take in.

19. If any one sees land in the night, he that first sees it, or any danger, is to fire a piece of ordnance and show as many lights as he can, and bear away or tack from it.

20. That all ships astern shall do their chiefest endeavour to make what sail they can and come up by them. And if any shall not do his utmost to come up with the chief of his squadron as aforesaid, he shall be questioned at a Council of War as for a neglect of duty, and the flag officers of each squadron are to take notice of each neglect, and give account thereof at the next meeting. That every one endeavour to sail or anchor in his squadron, and if any shall fail herein, he shall be questioned at a Council of War upon penalty aforesaid.

21. That the captain and all the officers of the respective ships shall, when they come into port, endeavour to supply themselves with water, ballast, and whatever else shall be necessary for sailing and fitting their ships, and enabling them for present service; also to use all means to wash and clean their ships as they find opportunity.

22. Whosoever hath a desire to speak with the Generals, shall spread a flag from the head of his topmast down his shrouds, lowering his topsails that it may the better be seen, and fire one gun and no more, until such time as the General stays for him.

Given under our hands,

RICHARD DEANE.

GEORGE MONKE.

III. By the Rt. Honble. the Admirals and Generals of the Fleet.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE BETTER ORDERING OF THE FLEET IN
FIGHTING.

1. Upon the discovery of a Fleet, receiving a sign from the Generals, which is to be striking the Generals' ensign and making a weft, two frigates appointed out of each squadron are to make sail and stand with them so nigh as conveniently may be, the better to gain a knowledge of them, what they are, and of what quality, and how many fire-ships, and others, and in what posture the Fleet is ; which being done, the frigates are to speak together, and conclude in that report they are to give, and accordingly repair to their respective squadrons and commanders-in-chief, and not to engage if the enemy exceed them in numbers, except it appear to them, on the place, they have advantage.

2. At sight of the Fleet the Vice-Admiral, or he that commands in chief in the second place, and his squadron, as also the Rear-Admiral, or he that commandeth in the third place, and his squadron, are to make what sail they can to come up with the Admiral, on each wing, the Vice-Admiral on the right wing and the Rear-Admiral on the left wing, leaving a complete distance for the Admiral's squadron, if the wind permit, and there be sea room enough.

3. As soon as they shall see the General engage, all make a signal by shooting off two guns and putting a red flag on every top-mast head, that each squadron shall take the best advantage they can to engage with the enemy next unto him. And in order thereunto all the ships of every squadron shall endeavour to keep in a line with the chief, unless the chief be maimed or otherwise disabled (which God forbid), whereby the said ship that wears the flag should not come into due service which is required, then every ship of the said squadron shall endeavour to keep in line with the Admiral, or he that commands in chief next unto him, and nearest unto the enemy.

4. If any squadron shall happen to be overcharged and distressed, the next squadron of ships are speedily to make towards their relief and assistance upon a signal given, which signal shall be, on the Admiral's squadron, a pendant on the foretopmast head ;

the Vice-Admiral, or he that commands in the second place, by a pendant on the maintopmast head; and the Rear-Admiral the like.

5. In case any ship shall be distressed or disabled for lack of masts, shot under water, or otherwise in danger of sinking or taking, he thus distrest shall make a weft with his jack or ensign, and those next him are strictly required to relieve him.

6. That if any ship shall be necessitated to bear away from the enemy, to stop a leak, or mend what else is amiss, which cannot be otherwise repaired, he is to put out a pendant on the mizen peak, or ensign staff, whereby the rest of the ships may have notice what for; and if it be that if any ship, or the Admiral, should do so, the ships of the Fleet of the respective squadrons are to endeavour to keep up in a line as close as they can betwixt him and the enemy, having always one eye to defend him in case the enemy should come to annoy him in that condition.

7. In case the Admiral should have the wind of the enemy, and that other ships of the Fleet are to windward of the Admiral, (on his) hoisting up a blue flag at the mizen peak, or the mizen topmast head, every ship is to bear up into his wake or grave, upon severest punishment. If in case the Admiral be to the leeward of the enemy, and his fleet, or any part thereof, to leeward of him, to the end such ships to the leeward may come up into line with the Admiral, if he should put abroad the flag as before, the ship to leeward to "wear," but to keep his or their loof to gain the wake or grave.

8. If the Admiral will have any of the ships to endeavour by tacking or otherwise to gain the wind of the enemy, he will put abroad a red flag at his sprit sail topmast shrouds, forestay, or main topmast stay. He that first discovers the signal shall make sail, and hoist and lower his sail or ensign, that the rest of the ships may take notice of it and follow.

9. If we put out a red flag on the mizen topmast shrouds, or the mizen peak, we will have all the flag ships to come up in the wake and grave of us.

10. If in time of fight God shall deliver any of the enemy's ships into our hands, special care is to be taken to save their men as the state of our condition stands, and will permit in such a case, by that the ship be immediately destroyed, by sinking or burning the

same, so that our own ships be not disabled, or any work interrupted by departing of mens' boats from the ships: and this we require all commanders to be more than mindful of.

11. None shall fire upon any of the enemy's ships laid aboard by our own ships, but so that he may be sure he indanger not his own friends.

12. That it is the duty of all commanders and masters of all small frigates, ketches, and smacks belonging to the several squadrons to know the fire-ships belonging to the enemy, and accordingly to observe their motions, to cut off their boats, if possible, or, if opportunity be, to lay them aboard, teaze, or destroy them; and to this purpose they are to keep to windward of their squadrons in time of fighting. But in case they cannot prevent the fire-ships coming on board by clapping between us and them, which by all means possible they are to endeavour, that then in such an exigent they show themselves men, and stir about them, and with their boats, grapnels, and other things, clear them from us, and destroy them, which service, if honourably done, according to its merit shall be rewarded, but the neglecter to be severely called to account.

13. That the fire-ships in every squadron endeavour to keep the wind, and they with the small frigates to bear as near the great ships as they can, to attend the General's signal, or the Commander's in chief; and to act accordingly. If the General hoist up a white flag on the mizen yard arm, or topmast head, all small frigates in his squadron are to come under his stern for orders.

14. That if any engagement by day shall continue till night, and the Generals shall please to anchor, then upon signal given they all anchor in as good order as may be—the signal being, as in *the Instructions for Sailing*. And if the General be pleased to retreat without anchoring, the signal to be the firing of two guns, the one so nigh the other as the report may be distinguished, and in three minutes after to do the like with two guns more.

Given under our hands at Portsmouth
this March, 1653.

(No signatures.)

Remarks.

The absence of the Generals' signatures from this last document is remarkable.

These "Instructions" had, probably, not been drawn on the 29th

of March when Deane and Monk signed the two preceding ; and Monk and Penn were left to complete them, when Deane was suddenly called up to London by Cromwell. He was in London on the 31st March ; for on that day he executed his will there—and he must have returned on that night, or early in the morning of April 1st, for on that day he went on board * Vice-Admiral Penn's ship at Spithead, and ordered him out to sea the next day. Deane and Monk remained at Portsmouth until the 22nd of April, when they signed THE DECLARATION. The inferences to be deduced from these dates and facts, are :—

1. That Deane, Monk, and Penn—but not Blake—were in Cromwell's secret as to his intentions against the Parliament.

2. That Deane was the link of communication between Cromwell and the other two Admirals.

3. That Deane had interviews with Cromwell in London, on the 30th and 31st of March ; and that he communicated the results to Monk and Penn, April 1st.

4. That because of the hurry of the last interview with Penn on board the *Vanguard*, the “instructions for fighting” were not signed by the Generals.

This non-signature is a presumptive evidence that the two junior Generals, Deane and Monk, were cognizant of Cromwell's intention to dismiss the Parliament forthwith. In their haste to despatch Penn on his *political* mission to the ships at sea, they omitted to sign the Instructions—which had not been laid before Blake, as it was important to keep him in ignorance of the object for which Penn was, so suddenly, ordered to sea.

* Capt. Jordan's Journal.

APPENDIX · E.

COMMISSION OF THE GENERALS-AT-SEA.

1648-9.

By the Council of State appointed by Parliament.

February 27, 1648-9.

To Colonel Edward Popham, Colonel Robert Blake, and Colonel Richard Deane, nominated and appointed by this present Parliament, to be Commissioners for the immediate ordering and commanding the Fleet, now at sea, and which shall be set forth for the year 1649.

By virtue of an Act of this present Parliament, we do hereby commissionate you to hold and execute by yourselves, or any two of you, the place of Admiral and General of the said Fleet. These are, therefore, to authorize and require you, or any two of you, forthwith to receive the said place of Admiral and General of the said Fleet into your charge, and to give you full power and authority yourselves, or any two of you, to order, manage, and command the same, for the service and safety of this Commonwealth; and for that purpose to give commissions, with *the seal of the anchor*, unto the Vice-Admiral of the said Fleet, the Admiral of the Irish seas, and all the officers of the said Fleet, for the service aforesaid. As also for the better ordering and government of the said Fleet, to exercise and execute the power of martial law on all persons belonging to the said Fleet under your command, according to such rules and articles as shall be given, allowed, or approved for that purpose by the Parliament, and according to the general customs and laws of the seas; and the same power to grant under your, or any two of your, hands and seals, to any officer of the said Fleet commanding-in-chief any squadron, or part of the said Fleet divided from you, and in your absence. And, further, to appoint and empower any one of yourselves to command-in-chief the said Fleet, or any part thereof, and exercise therein the powers aforesaid, or any of them, upon such coast or North Sea, and in such service and for such time for which he shall by the other two of you, be so empowered; which one of you being so empowered and appointed by the other two of you,

shall and may command the said Fleet, or any part thereof, as it last expressed.

And we do hereby will and require the Vice-Admiral and Rear-Admiral of the said Fleet, as also the Admiral of the Irish seas, and all other the subordinate captains, masters, officers, and mariners serving in any ship or vessel of the said Fleet for the time being, to be obedient to you in their several and respective places, and to all and every the commands which you, or any two of you, shall give them or any other, for the service of the Parliament and this Commonwealth, as holding and executing the said place of Admiral and General of the said Fleet as aforesaid. And you, likewise, and every one of you, to observe and follow such orders and directions as you herewith receive from the Council of State, or shall hereafter from time to time receive from the Parliament or from the Council of State for the service aforesaid—the said power to continue to the first day of March, 1649-50. And for the present this shall be your warrant.

Given under *the Admiralty Seal* of the said Council of State, this 27th day of February, 1648-9.

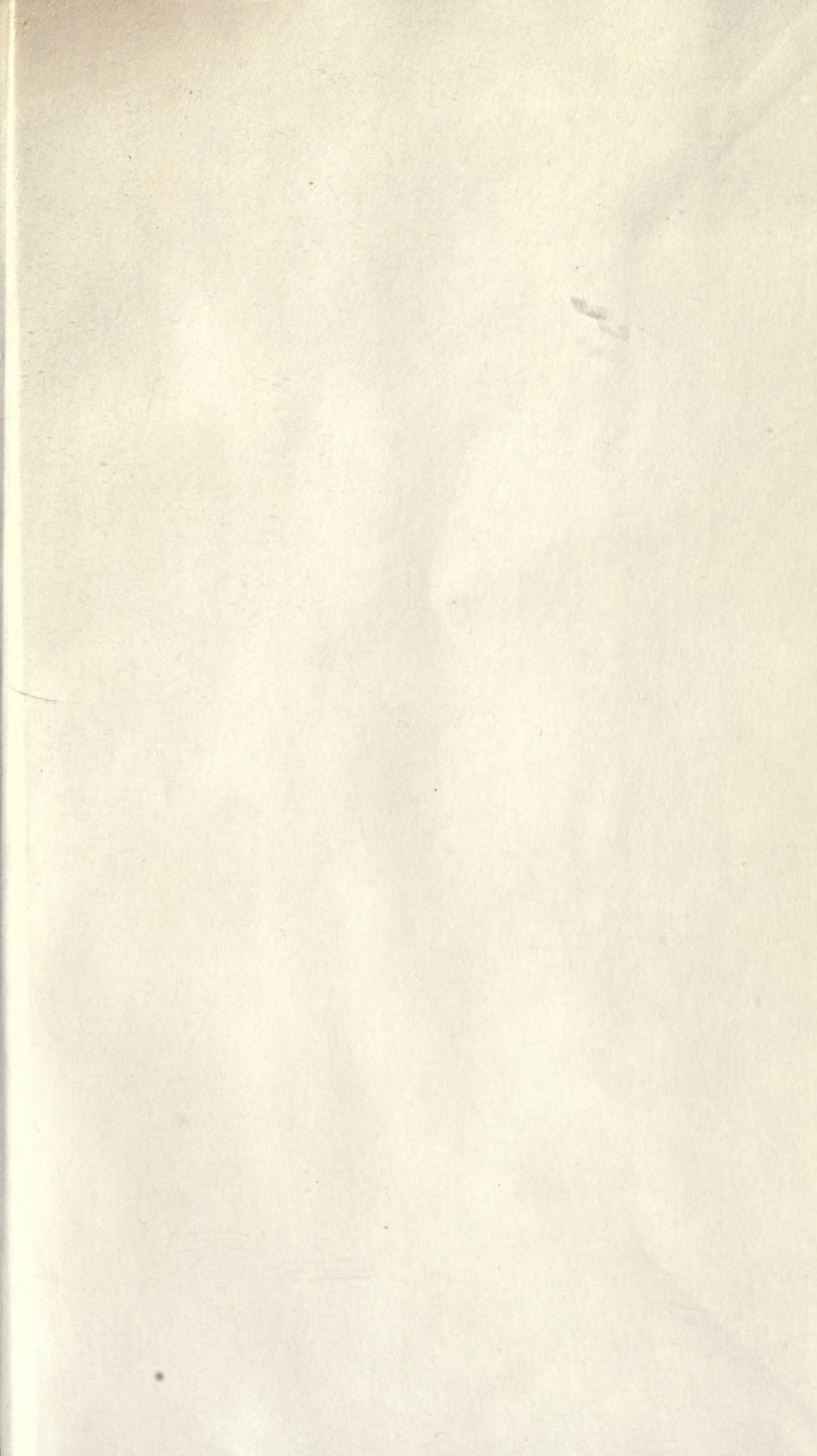
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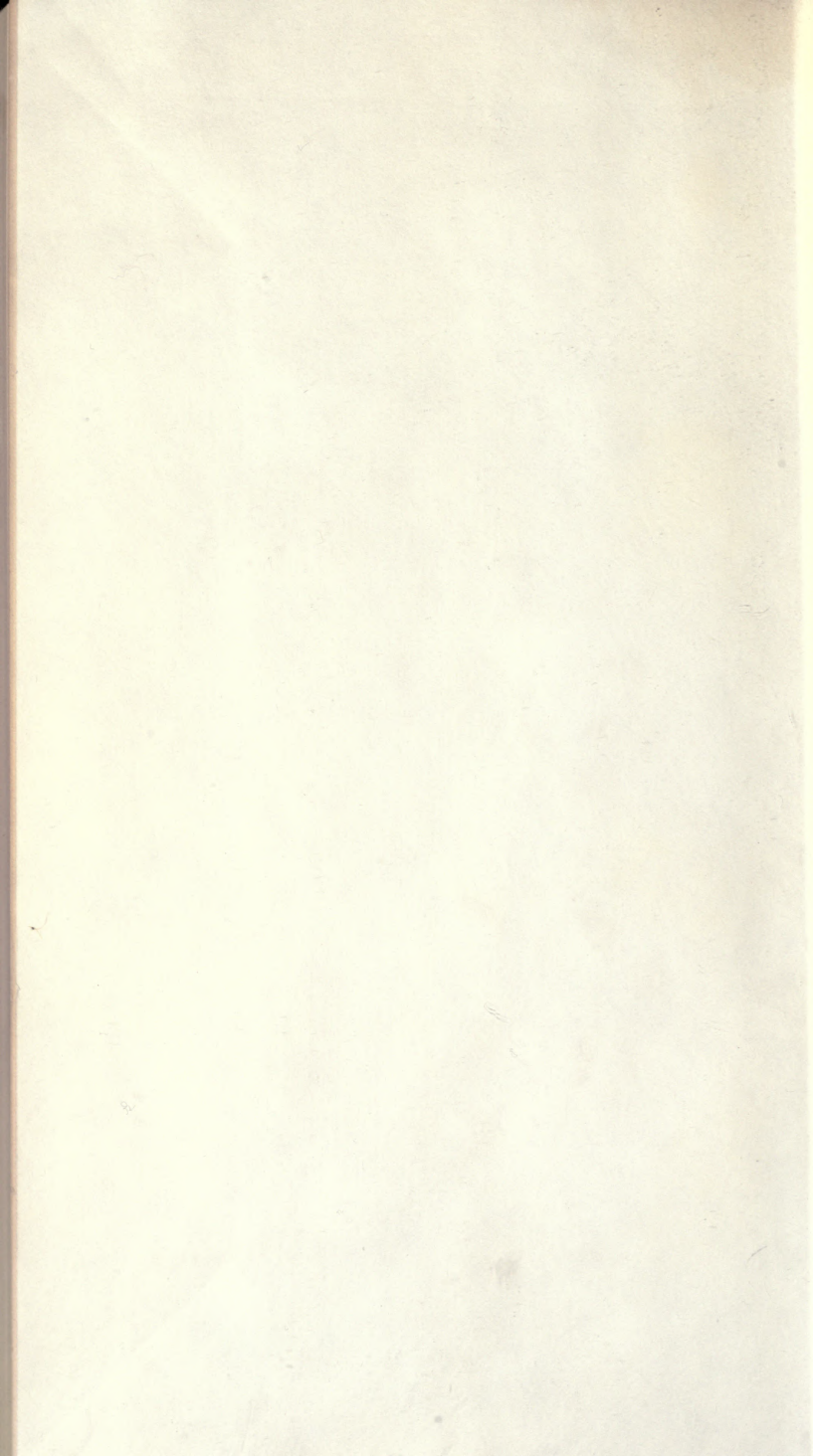
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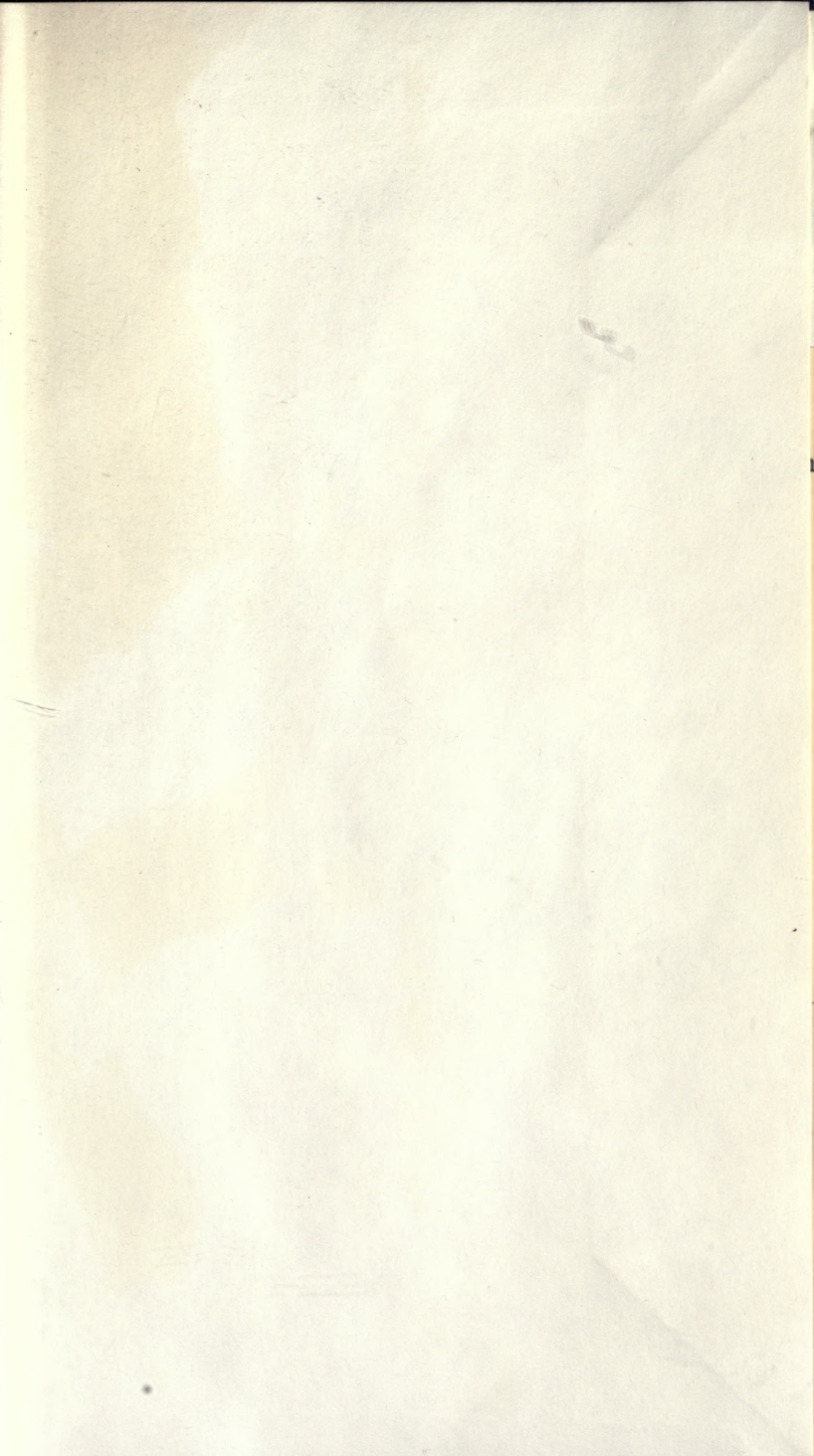
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Deane, John Bathurst
The life of Richard Beane

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